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IN THE

Supreme Court of the United States

OCTOBER TERM, 1966

No. 800

BEN W. FORTSON, as Secretary of State of the State of Georgia, and his successor in such office, as such,
Appellant

v.

JOHN MORRIS and FLORENCE ROBIN, for themselves, jointly and severally, and for all others similarly situated,
Appellees

BEN W. FORTSON, JR., Individually, and as Secretary of State of Georgia, *Appellant*

v.

LARRY G. JUSTICE, MRS A. P. BRAIL, MRS. VIRGINIA BUDD, DR. YANCEY P. CARTER, JR., NOBLE F. COLLINS, GLEN GRAY, BRYAN HURST, DR. BENJAMIN E. MAYS, CARL PORTER, CHARLES SLIGH, DR. HERBERT TYLER, and EVERETT WILLIAMS, *Appellees*

ON APPEAL FROM THE UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT FOR THE NORTHERN DISTRICT OF GEORGIA, ATLANTA DIVISION

REPLY BRIEF OF APPELLEES JOHN MORRIS AND FLORENCE ROBIN

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PRESS OF BYRON S. ADAMS PRINTING, INC., WASHINGTON, D. C.

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ON APPEAL FROM THE UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT FOR THE NORTHERN DISTRICT OF GEORGIA, ATLANTA DIVISION

Reply Brief of Appellees John Morris and Florence Robin

ARGUMENT

In *Finch* v. *Gray,* No. A 96441 Fulton County (Georgia) Superior Court, Oct. 30, 1962, quoted in *Fortson* v. *Dorsey,* 379 U.S. 433, 434-435 (1965), the Georgia court considered the proposed but unratified constitution of Georgia (Georgia Laws, Ex. Sess., May-June, 1964, pp. 234-416 ". . . simply for the light it sheds upon the intention of the General Assembly in enacting the Reapportionment Statute."

The light of that proposed constitution casts a shadow on the runoff remedy provided by Section 34-1514 of the Georgia Election Code.

Article 4, Section 7, paragraph 3 of the Revised Constitution of Georgia (Georgia Laws, Ex. Sess., May-June, 1964, p. 286) dealt with the election of executive officers including Governor. It provided in part:

> "The person having the majority of the whole number of votes shall be declared duly elected to each of said offices. *Whenever no person is elected in the general election to fill any such office,* or whenever any person elected shall die or withdraw prior to taking any such office, *the Secretary of State shall call a special election,* which shall be held not less than sixty nor more than one hundred twenty days from the date of any such event, to fill such position. The incumbent officer shall continue to serve until his successor can be elected and qualified." [Emphasis supplied]

The General Assembly was to "open and publish the returns". A failure of election was contemplated. A special election was to be called.

Regardless of the intention of the General Assembly in acting Section 34-1514 of the Georgia Election Code[1] no runoff election barring write in votes should be allowed by this Court.

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[1] In argument below it was indicated by counsel that the Constitution of Georgia of 1945 and Section 34-1514 of the Georgia Election Code could be construed together. (R. 31) Upon reflection it seems that such a construction would be strained.

Section 34-1514 of the Georgia Election Code may have been forfeited as a remedy since no "court order" barring it was entered in the court below. *Davis* v. *Page,* 217 Ga. 751, 753-754, 125 SE 2d 60 (1962) held that ". . . an election is absolutely void when not held at the proper time and place . . ."

In *O'Connor* v. *Ohio,* — U.S. —, 35 LW 3174 (1966) this Court said:

> "Defendants can no more be charged with anticipating the Griffin decision than can the States. Petitioner had exhausted his appeals in the Ohio courts and was seeking direct review here when Griffin was handed down. Thus, his failure to object to a practice which Ohio had long allowed cannot strip him of his right to attack the practice following its invalidation by this Court."

If the ruling of the District Court is affirmed a substantial change in Georgia law will have been effected.

Curtis Publishing Company v. *Butts,* No. 37, October Term, 1966, cert. granted — U.S. —, 35 LW 3124 (1966) involves the application of the rule of *New York Times Company* v. *Sullivan,* 376 U.S. 254 (1964).

Mr. Butts filed suit against the Curtis Publishing Company on March 25, 1963.[2] On August 30, 1962, the *Times* case was decided by the Supreme Court of Alabama. Petition for writ of certiorari was filed on November 21, 1962. Certiorari was granted on January 7, 1963. On August 20, 1963, the jury verdict was rendered.

Attorneys for Curtis Publishing Company had knowledge of the pendency of the *Times* case in this court. They failed to raise the *Times* issue in the trial court. Despite that failure this Court granted certiorari.

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[2] These facts and those that follow were obtained from *Curtis Publishing Company* v. *Butts,* 351 F. 2d 702, 709-710 (1965).

In its Petition for Writ of Certiorari to the United States Court of Appeals for the Fifth Circuit at page 11, Curtis Publishing Company stated:

> "The judicial duty thus defined by these decisions is not qualified by a requirement that supervening change in law must have been anticipated by the litigant who claims its benefits at stages of the litigation prior to the time when it occurred. Such a condition would be patently unthinkable in cases where the change is wrought by legislative action, since no ruling could be premised upon unenacted legislation."

If "supervening change in law" need not be claimed by parties in civil and criminal cases prior to final decision it must not be required of the electorate. If Article V, Section I, paragraph IV of the Constitution of Georgia of 1945 is declared unconstitutional, there has been a supervening change in Georgia's electoral process.

There are 12 commercial television stations in Georgia.[1] There are 170 to 175 radio stations,[2] 31 daily newspapers[3] and, at least, 183 weekly newspapers,[4] in Georgia.

The Atlanta *Journal* is the state's largest daily newspaper. Its daily circulation is 264,836.[5] The Sunday

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[1] Information provided by the Georgia Association of Broadcasters.

[2] Ibid.

[3] 1967 Georgia Newspaper Service Directory, unpublished. Information provided by the Georgia Press Association which has 183 member newspapers. No daily newspapers in Georgia and not more than 6 weekly newspapers in Georgia are not members of the Association.

[4] Ibid.

[5] Newspaper Publisher's Statement for six months ending March 31, 1966. Information provided by Atlanta Newspapers, Inc.

edition is jointly published with the Atlanta *Constitution* to a circulation of 523,238.[6]

Articles, editorials and editorial cartoons in Georgia's newspapers and newscasts commented upon the Republican cross-over vote in the September 28, 1966, runoff primary election and the fact and the effect of legislative selection of the Governor in the event no majority vote was obtained in the General Election. The communications media pressed upon the electorate remembrances of Georgia's County Unit system.

Appendix A hereto, *post,* consists of reproductions of articles from the Atlanta *Journal* during the period from September 28, 1966 to November 8, 1966. Items contained in Appendix B to the Brief of Appellees' *Morris* and *Robin* are not duplicated herein except where they were incompletely reproduced there. The effect of these articles, editorials and editorial cartoons—and similar commentary in Georgia's other daily and weekly newspapers and on radio and television newscasts — was to influence Georgia's electorate in casting their ballots. Cf. *Davis* v. *Schnell,* 81 F. Supp. 872 (S.D. Ala. 1949) aff'd. 336 U.S. 933 (1949).

As noted by Law Week (35 L.W. 1069) "[c]lairvoyance is not often demanded of a lawyer but sometimes it is. See Curtis Publishing Co. v. Butts . . . ." [Citation omitted.]

Whether lawyers are to be required to be clairvoyant or not, the electorate should not be. Thus the

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[6] Ibid.

runoff election remedy proposed by Co-Appellees, *Justice,* et al., would be totally inappropriate here. The misleading of the electorate must lead to a new election.

Respectfully submitted,

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The Atlanta Journal
★ AND ★
THE ATLANTA CONSTITUTION

Jack Spalding, Editor
The Atlanta Journal

Jack Tarver, President
Atlanta Newspapers, Inc.

Eugene Patterson, Editor
The Atlanta Constitution

. . WHAT HAVE I DONE? . . . HOW CAN I HELP? . . . ??'

31 COCK ROBIN?

Voting Results Gave The Experts Pause

By EUGENE PATTERSON

LESTER MADDOX defeated Ellis Arnall decisively. But nothing decisive has been said about how he did it. Experts still shake their heads in bewilderment when they compare the Democratic races for governor and lieutenant governor.

For governor, Arnall, the moderate, lost to the extremist Maddox by 70,401 votes. Whereas for lieutenant governor the moderate, George T. Smith, won from the extremist Peter Zack Geer by 85,343 votes.

How could this be?

It might be conceded that loser Arnall failed to show an overpowering charisma. But loser Geer was supposed to have that magic attractiveness.

Eugene Patterson is editor of The Atlanta Constitution.

And the good, grey moderate Smith defeated the charismatic Geer, whereas the good, grey moderate Arnall lost to the flamboyant Maddox.

That is what gave the experts pause.

* * *

IF THE VOTERS had wanted moderates, why hadn't they voted for Arnall and Smith?

And if they had wanted extremists, why hadn't they voted for Maddox and Geer?

Instead they had voted for the extremist Maddox on the one hand, and the moderate Smith on the other. Why?

Republican gubernatorial candidate Howard Callaway insisted there was no Republican plot to vote for Maddox so as to set him up as a pushover for Callaway in the November election.

As evidence, Callaway pointed out that moderate Arnall, not extremist Maddox, got the biggest vote in some precincts where moderate Smith got a bigger vote than extremist Geer.

On the whole, however, this was not the rule. Many Callaway supporters obviously did vote for the extremist Maddox, setting him up as Callaway's opponent in November, then turned around and voted for the moderate Smith, destroying the extremist Geer.

Why? Let the voter name his own motive. The evidence suffices to show what happened. He voted for segregationist Maddox and against segregationist Geer.

This was most pronounced in the populous counties. Moderate Smith carried DeKalb by 21,303 votes over segregationist Geer, whereas moderate Arnall carried it by only 6,943 over segregationist Maddox.

Fulton gave Smith a 54,899 vote margin over Geer, while giving Arnall only a 36,713 vote margin over Maddox.

Smith carried Richmond County (Augusta) by 5,012 votes while Arnall carried it by 1,898. Smith carried Bibb County (Macon) by 3,447, while Arnall's margin was only 151.

Obviously moderate ideology was not the controlling factor, or Arnall and Smith would have polled about the same.

Some other factor intruded. Those who think it was a Callaway crossover vote for Maddox are obviously right. Cobb County went for the extremist Maddox for governor, the moderate Smith for lieutenant governor. Clayton County also went for Maddox for governor, Smith for lieutenant governor.

This wouldn't have made sense if it had been isolated. Maddox is extremist, Smith moderate. But it wasn't isolated. Smith carried Arnall's home county of Coweta by more votes (1,205) than Arnall's margin (800). Smith carried his own home county of Grady and Arnall lost it.

* * *

MOST INDICATIVE, however, is the following breakdown. For Arnall backers, it is melancholy. But for students of politics, it is clear. There was a crossover vote—by mad Democrats, Republicans, Callaway types, Maddox sorts, or whatever you want to call them—between the unsuccessful moderate candidate for governor, Arnall, and the successful moderate candidate for lieutenant governor, Smith. As rather conclusive proof, the following counties voted both for the extremist Maddox, and for the moderate Smith:

Lowndes, Sumter, Ware, Tift, Colquitt, Thomas, Bartow, Troup, Houston, Upson, Spalding, Carroll, Bulloch, Bacon, Baker, Brooks, Calhoun, Clay, Crawford, Whitfield, Dawson, Macon, Habersham, Jackson, Jefferson, Jones, Meriwether, Mitchell, Pike, Polk, Rabun, Randolph, Rockdale, Stephens, Taylor, Telfair, White and probably others.

THEY LAUGHED YESTERDAY

Old-Line Demos Lining Up For Maddox Bandwagon

By SAM HOPKINS
Constitution Political Editor

The old-line Democratic hierarchy, confused and disorganized and desperately trying to build up a bandwagon candidate for governor all summer, suddenly has a hard hand on the political reins in Georgia again.

The swift and almost complete swing behind segregationist Lester Maddox since his nomination Wednesday spells serious — maybe fatal — trouble for the political future of Republican gubernatorial candidate Howard (Bo) Callaway.

Maddox not only now has the political machine of Sen. Herman Talmadge and the statehouse "clique" behind him, but also the endorsement of Gov. Sanders and most other high elected officials.

It is something of a phenomenon that so much political power is backing such a man as Maddox, who had been a loner during most of the campaign.

NOT A SINGLE high Democratic leader was actively backing Maddox during the summer. In fact, he was still considered something of a joke even up to the day of the runoff.

Most observers had thought all along that if by some stretch of the imagination Maddox should win the Democratic nomination for governor, he would be too much for the old power structure to stomach and that they would then privately go to work for Callaway.

But Maddox's victory over former Gov. Ellis Arnall was such an overwhelming one, it appeared that he had created a bandwagon of his own.

It seems apparent that Talmadge and the others suddenly adjusted their glasses and took another quick hard look at this massive vote-getter, and being the political animals they are, decided that regardless of the "ax handle image" Maddox has developed, he could beat Callaway and thus keep the State Capitol under Democratic control.

NEWS ANALYSIS

SO THE BANDWAGON that Maddox started singlehandedly is now bulging with people who a month ago were laughing at him.

If Maddox should defeat Callaway and become governor, he will be surrounded and influenced by the old-line politicians who are just as much segregationists as he.

This group lost control of the state when Carl Sanders was elected to office. Sanders did not quite fit into the old political mold and was more moderate on most matters than those who generally were connected with the Talmadge machine.

It is one of the ironies of politics that it took Lester Maddox to bring enough unity to the Democratic party to finally give it a chance of beating Callaway.

IF HE WINS, it will also be because many of the "mad Democrats" who were going to vote for Callaway decide to switch to Maddox.

The nomination of Maddox actually has resulted in a bigger number of "mad Democrats" in Georgia. The first group included those protesting the Great Society and President Lyndon B. Johnson — apparently based mostly on the race issue—and the new "mad Democrats" are those incensed over Maddox's victory.

It is much too early to say Maddox will definitely win the Nov. 8 election. Callaway, after all, has been considered to be the frontrunner for some time. He still is a formidable candidate.

It may depend on how much political switching and counter-switching-around happens in the next 38 days as to who wins.

Anyone for a write-in?

ATLANTA JOURNAL - CONSTITUTION
SUNDAY, OCTOBER 2, 1966

YES, VOTERS, YOU CAN ADD EXTRA NAMES TO BALLOT

A write-in vote for some Georgian other than Lester Maddox or Howard (Bo) Callaway for governor will be possible in the Nov. 8 general election.

Some Fulton voters have complained they're being told a write-in vote isn't possible.

Secretary of State Ben Fortson Jr., chairman of the State Election Board, said Saturday "there is no uncertainty" about the state election code requiring space on a ballot for write-in votes in the general election.

Write-in votes were not possible in the primary, however.

Two different sections of the election code spell out state law on the subject.

Mr. Fortson said voting machines, votomatic machines and paper ballots must provide a space for write-in candidates.

He said managers and poll workers are obligated to show voters the write-in columns where they can manually write in their choice for a particular office if they don't want to vote for any of the candidates on the ballot.

"This is very clear under the law of Georgia," he said.

A majority rule also will prevail in the general election just as it did in the primary. If a write-in campaign kept one candidate from getting a majority of the votes, a runoff would be held Nov. 22 between the two highest vote-getters.

ATLANTA JOURNAL Oct. 3, 1966

'I THINK TH' BUTLER DONE IT!'

OCT. 3, 1966

The Atlanta Journal

"COVERS DIXIE LIKE THE DEW"

Carter Disavows Write-In Effort

Need for Money Cited; Nominee Pledged Support

By WILLIAM O. SMITH

The effort by some Democrats to launch a planned state- write-in campaign for State Sen. Jimmy Carter as rnor in the general election was apparently floundering out scuccess Monday.

n. Carter, who finished third e Democratic primary, said elephone from Plains that absolutely wants no part of rite-in campaign on his be-

denied reports that he has privately he would not op- e a write-in campaign ough he isn't trying to get started.

I have never said that," he told The Journal. "I have discouraged everyone, privately and publicly, from starting a write-in campaign for me."

And a Carter supporter in Atlanta who was trying to muster write-in support for the senator late last week told the same story Monday. He said that apparently nothing will come of the effort.

The Atlantan said such an effort would take "a lot of money and support from the nominee himself." Neither seems forthcoming, he said.

SEN. CARTER mentioned the money angle as one of three reasons why he won't accept a write-in draft. He estimated it would cost several hundred thousand dollars to conduct such a campaign—money he doesn't have available, he said.

Several checks have been sent to him but he has returned all of them, he said.

But even more important, Sen. Carter said, is his belief he has responsibility to support the Democratic nominee, Lester Maddox, because of the pledged he signed to support the party's winner when he became a candidate.

"I would not do anything openly or behind the scenes to break my pledge to support the Democratic nominee," he said.

Although he hasn't talked to Mr. Maddox about helping him against Republican gubernatorial candidate Howard (Bo) Callaway, he said he has pledged to help all Democratic candidates for governor, Congress, and General Assembly.

Sen. Carter said there is "inherent strength" in being the nominee of a political party and he thinks it would "be a mistake" for Democrats to get behind anyone other than Mr. Maddox.

If he got into a write-in campaign, he said the most likely result would be a runoff. If he got into a runoff with Mr. Maddov, he said he believed Callaway supporters would vote for Mr. Maddox and vice versa.

EVEN THOUGH Sen. Carter seemingly has removed himself from an active write-in campaign, there are still indications he will get some votes. The Journal received some calls indicating this Monday morning.

One of the fears held by dissident Georgians is that these unsolicited votes for Sen. Carter will work against Mr. Callaway and assure Mr. Maddox' election.

A full-scale write-in campaign by Sen. Carter would probably force a runoff, they say.

Sen. Carter also predicted that Mr. Maddox will defeat Mr. Callaway. He said there is "overwhelming support" for Mr. Maddox now—even from people who said before the primary they would vote for Mr. Callaway.

There is no doubt that area around Sumter County will go for Mr. Maddox, he said.

At a recent barbecue, he said 22 of 34 farmers indicated they would vote for Mr. Maddox. If Ellis Arnall had been the Democratic nominee, all of those votes would have gone to Mr. Callaway, he said.

ATL. JOURNAL

The Write-In

OCT. 4, 1966

THE COLLAPSE and deflation of that doubtful organization known as the Democratic Party of Georgia and its conversion into the Maddox Party is having some interesting side effects.

One is the move for write-in candidates.

Behind this move are those who find it impossible to vote for the nominees of the Maddox Party and particularly Lester Maddox himself, and who do not find the Republican nominees and particularly Rep. Howard (Bo) Callaway attractive either.

The write-in is legitimate.

It gives people with no place to go some sort of outlet and therefore is therapeutic.

But is it effective?

The chance of a candidate's being elected by such action and in the face of the Maddox and Republican organizations is practically non-existent. We can't at this point see the General Assembly acting as it once did during an interregnum to give Herman Talmadge the governorship on the basis of some Telfair County write-ins.

But a write-in shows idealism, and a refusal to compromise with principle.

Rep. Charles Weltner has given us a stirring example of this sort of idealism.

As long as we have this sort of idealism and enough of these idealists around, then democracy survives in Georgia, although it may have to go into exile occasionally.

ATL. JOURNAL OCT. 4, 1966

Charter Prohibits Write-In Runoff

A strong write-in vote in the Nov. 8 general election was still a possibility Tuesday but there were indications it could cause quite a snafu.

Secretary of State Ben Fortson Jr. reported that the State Constitution prohibits a runoff for governor if one candidate does not get a majority of the votes.

IF THIS should occur, the responsibility of electing a new governor would be thrust upon the General Assembly, who would make the selection from the top two vote-getters, he said.

Gov. Sanders would continue serving until a new governor is selected.

One major problem arising from such a happening might be in the realm of budget preparation. State law says the governor must present a proposed budget to the General Assembly within five days after it convenes.

PAST GOVERNORS have had about three months to work up a budget proposal because Democratic nominees never had any opposition. This year there is only about one month between the Nov. 8 general election and the date the budget must go to the printer — about Dec. 10. Budget officials say this isn't much time.

If a governor's election was not definite when the General Assembly met, there would be problems meeting the state law requirement for submitting a budget proposal within five days of convening.

Meanwhile, several groups were active in trying to work up write-in campaigns.

A FORMER supporter of Democratic candidate Ellis Arnall, who lost to Letser Maddox in a runoff, said a write-in campaign for Mr. Arnall is under way that has "gone beyond the conversation stage." He said it is being pushed by business leaders who want a candidate to the left of Mr. Maddox. Mr. Arnall has had a chance to stop it without doing so, the spokesman said.

A meeting is scheduled Tuesday night at 8 p.m. in Plaza A of the Georgian Terrace Hotel at which time Georgians interested in a write-in campaign will discuss how to go about it.

A SPOKESMAN said this was a "purely exploratory" meeting and no particular candidate has been mentioned for a write-in vote.

Another group was to meet Tuesday afternoon at the Mark Building, 98 Alabama St. SW, to discuss an "oust Lester Maddox" campaign.

A group of Georgia State students organized Monday to push a write-in campaign for State Sen. Jimmy Carter.

Sen. Carter said emphatically Monday he is not interested in becoming a write-in candidate—and reiterated it Tuesday.

ATL. JOURNAL OCT. 5, 1966

Convention Ouster Aimed at Maddox

Moderate Democrats Seek New Leadership

By CHARLES POU
Atlanta Journal Political Editor

Georgia's many-splintered political scene continued to amaze and confuse Wednesday, and among the new developments were these:

—A group of moderate Democrats began the beginnings of a "new" Democratic party—with the ultimate purpose the challenging of any Lester Maddox-led delegation to the 1968 National Democratic Convention. At least one elected state-house official was said to be among the planners, and an off-hand guess was that such an outfit would stand a good chance of being seated at the 1968 affair.

—A "Democrats for Callaway" organization was in the making—entirely separate from the Democrat group cited above—and some right big names were being mentioned as steering committee for it.

Among some of these were Atlanta banker William R. Bowdoin, former Mayor Steve Knight of Columbus, a past president of the Georgia Municipal Association, Mayor George Sancken of Augusta, former Rep. Frank Tift of Tifton (already an announced supporter of Callaway); Wyck Knox of Thomson, a former state senator, and others.

—A group of disgruntled Democrats met Tuesday night until an early hour to try to find a "write-in" candidate to oppose both Callaway and Maddox. They finally decided on Ellis Arnall — but reliable sources close to Mr. Arnall predicted he will flatly oppose the move.

HOWEVER, these sources, who since have been demoted to the category of "sometimes reliable sources," apparently did their guessing without consulting Mr. Arnall. When reached for comment, he said he would neither encourage nor discourage the move. He said:

"I will neither be a party to encouraging a write-in campaign nor will I be a party to preventing one. It is a completely free decision for every Georgia voter to make.

"It is a matter which directs itself to the conscience, obligations of citizenship and the political judgment of each person, in the light of his or her understanding and the long range best interest of our beloved state."

He began his comment by reminding the caller of his own pledge as a candidate to support the eventual nominee. The former governor concluded:

"If the people of Georgia want to move forward with a write-in campaign that's their business—but I cannot personally get in it, nor do I intend to do so."

IT IS KNOWN that a group looking toward the 1968 National convention has already held one meeting to plot a course. Among the charter planners, it was reported reliably, were some elected Democratic officials.

"We have two or three things in mind," said one of these latter.

"First, we want to get started early—so there will be no question that this is just a trumped-up thing, the charge which was made successfully against the so-called Freedom Party of Mississippi. They got organized just before the 1964 Atlantic City convention and did not really give the national party leaders much legal grounds to seat them.

"Secondly, we think they will seat us—Maddox was for Barry Goldwater in 1964 and so was his new party chairman, James Gray of Albany. We are sure the national party will be sympathetic toward us.

"WHETHER MADDOX wins or loses in his race for governor, he will be so-called titular head of the Georgia Democratic party. Our very presence as a threat will tend to help keep him more in line."

But he said he believes the real purposes of "Maddox, Roy Harris, Calvin Craig and all of them" is to get behind George Wallace for " a third party move" in 1968.

HE ADDED:

"I doubt they'll care much whether they get kicked out of the 1968 convention or not. But we are sure going to try to help see to it they do get kicked out."

The Atlanta Journal

"Covers Dixie Like the Dew"

Since 1883

Jack Tarver, President • Jack Spalding, Editor

The Old Clans Rally

THE DEMOCRATIC Party of Georgia long has been whoever was governor at the time.

It was a family affair. It belonged to a loose coalition of friends and relatives, and its members ran it to suit themselves.

There were no outside pressures, Georgia having been a one party state for nearly a century. Occasionally there was an internal feud over the matter of succession to the governor's chair.

But these feuds were settled easily as the county unit system allowed control of the state by the chosen few, and the votes of the common people in the primaries were of little concern to the chieftains of the leading Democratic clans of Georgia.

Times changed, and even the county unit system came to an end.

A two party system reared its frightening head.

Today we see an interesting funny thing. We see the chieftains of the old Democratic clans (with a few proud exceptions) rallying to the defense of their one remaining asset—the State Capitol and the pap and patronage that goes with it.

The old clans have a new leader, Lester Maddox, who obliterated Ellis Arnall in the recent Democratic primary. How homage to this new leader must hurt the pride of some of the old leaders of this group.

But business before honor, and if Mr. Maddox loses in the general election, a lot of our sinecure specialists are going to have to find a way to support themselves or starve.

Mr. Maddox's opponent is Rep. Bo Callaway of Pine Mountain, a Republican. One of the chief criticisms of Mr. Callaway has been the support given him in the past by some of the discredited old county unit Democrats.

They've all gone back where they came from now, and as Mr. Callaway puts it, he's got nobody left but the people. Without the county unit system that is all it takes.

parently is of no consideration to many in Africa and elsewhere who want an end to the minority white control, even by force of arms.

They furiously want to make the change although it could produce chaos not only in South Africa but in Botswana and Lesotho, and make all three candidates for international handouts.

The Terror Spreads

THE TERROR is definitely spreading. You know that is so when you read that Martin Luther King Sr. thinks Herman Talmadge should be drafted for governor.

The Rev. Mr. King expressed his sentiments when a sizable and diverse group gathered Tuesday night in Atlanta to organize for a write-in vote against Lester Maddox and Bo Callaway.

"We've got to get the best vote-getter we can get," he said. "You folks who have entree had better go get Herman Talmadge. . . ."

So much for the headlines. ("MLK Sr. All-Out for Herman.") Now for the news.

The write-in meeting seemed to be somewhat divided. But by a close margin, George T. Smith nosed out Ellis Arnall to win the most votes in a straw poll. The poll was taken to advise the new write-in organization's steering committee, which presumably will decide what to do next.

At the height of The Terror, one man present extolled the virtues of Bo Callaway, as best he could, considering that he doesn't like Bo Callaway. "I can't conceive of Bo Callaway waving an ax handle or pistol," he said.

True. We hadn't thought of *that*.

It was certainly a different kind of "The Man Who" speech. ("And now I give you the man who could never wave an ax handle. . . .")

Perhaps it contributed somewhat to easing of The Terror to mention that only one of the candidates is an ax handle man.

It probably added a little to The Terror, however, when one man present mentioned that a good write-in campaign might cost, say, $250,000.

Those present at the meeting did not adopt a slogan for the new write-in organization. A student picketing the Bo Callaway campaign opener had a sign saying "Go Bo, the Lester of the Two Evils," but the write-in group definitely was not interested in that course of action or that slogan.

We do not know what course events now may take with the write-in movement. It is certainly well-motivated, for these were mostly amateurs concerned about our state. But at the moment The Terror seems to be running too strong for a clear picture to emerge. Meanwhile, we'll ponder "MLK Sr. All-Out for Herman."

CALLAWAY AND MADDOX

ATL. JOURNAL Oct 6, 1966

A New Phase, and Maybe New Strategies

By JACK SPALDING

RIGHT NOW we are in the eye of the hurricane. Enjoy the calm while it lasts. Our politicians are regrouping and retooling the candidates and getting ready to blow us down again.

A lot lies behind, including a bunch of flattened Georgia Democrats and the corpse of the old Georgia Democratic party.

What lies ahead? Maybe the computers can tell and maybe the poll takers. They have taken over the art of politics in much of the country, but here we still have them baffled. A self-respecting human isn't going to tell a poll-taker how he's going to vote, particularly if he's half way ashamed of what he's planning to do. Judging by the way things look, the human equation is mighty hard to feed into a computer too, particularly if the equation is Georgian. They don't make computers yet which understand us.

* * *

A LOT lies behind but there is a lot more to come. Rest while you can and brace yourself for the next blow.

The wind ought to start rising about October 15 when that body officially known as the Georgia Democratic party holds its convention in Macon. It will be the unveiling of the party's new leader, Lester Maddox. On that day we will see the launching of the new Maddox Party of Georgia, and where it will go, nobody knows.

Will Mr. Maddox be re-tooled to meet the Republican threat to the State Capitol and all the pap and patronage that goes with it? Will he be given a new gloss, in order to aid our old Democratic officeholders in hanging on to their state sinecures forevermore? Will he be a little more worldly in his approach to things to help our statesmen in Washington maintain their position before the nation?

Ah. This is what is worrying the politicians now. Their way of life is at stake and Mr. Maddox either saves it for them or they go down the drain together.

On the other side? We have Rep. Bo Callaway of Pine Mountain, a Republican. Mr. Callaway is a man of unquestioned integrity and considerable promise. That so many of our old Democratic politicians deserted him in favor of Mr. Maddox after the smashing Maddox runoff victory is the highest possible recommendation for Mr. Callaway.

A man is judged by the company he keeps. Mr. Callaway said only last Tuesday that he had no political backing any more. All he had was the people.

Well, that is all Mr. Callaway needs, but first he has got to get those people stirred up about him.

So far he's been looking like a politician in need of some guidelines, uncertain of where he ought to go and what he ought to do. The new Maddox Party has pre-empted the far right, and taken a lot of old Callaway far rightists along. It doesn't look like they're going to come back and go with Bo.

But the world isn't full of racists and far rightists, no matter how you read the results of the Democratic runoff.

A lot of people will take honesty over all else, and if the Callaway people want to sharpen the image of their candidate, he radiates that quality.

A lot of people prefer good government over racism, and with some of the friends Mr. Maddox now has, Mr. Callaway has a clear field here.

This is a year of revolution and could be the end of the Georgia Democratic party (as we have known it).

But do the Callaway advisers grasp this fact? They've shown no signs of it. So far they're running Barry Goldwater against Lyndon Johnson again, and nobody is going to come to town on a rainy day to watch this old rerun.

* * *

JUST AS a group called Democrats for Goldwater carried Georgia for the Republicans in 1964, help for Callaway can come from a Democrats for Callaway coalition. Republicans are nice people, but they're just not political.

There are a lot of skillful Democrats in Georgia (with hearts and heads instead of slide rules) and their old party has gone where they can't follow. Callaway Republicans can provide money and machinery. But it is going to take Callaway Democrats to provide spark and the proper political instincts.

PAGE ONE

Write-in Plan Under Attack

ATL. JOURNAL
OCT. 7, 1966

Sen. Hill Says House Might Decide Election

By CHARLES POU
Atlanta Journal Political Editor

A state senator and an Atlanta alderman Friday spoke out sharply against the write-in campaign under way among some Democrats. Both pointed out indirectly that such efforts very likely would give Atlanta segregationist Lester Maddox two shots at becoming governor.

State Sen. Render Hill of Greenville said it almost directly.

"If you are for Lester Maddox," said the Democrat, "vote for him. If you're not, vote for Callaway. What a lot of people don't understand, I believe, is that it is the Georgia House of Representatives — not citizens —who would choose between Maddox and Callaway, in the very likely event that neither had a clear majority as a result of the write-in campaign."

He added: "Here's an illustration: Say Callaway got 49 per cent of the vote, Maddox 31 per cent—the write-in candidate 19 per cent. That would throw the election to the Georgia House of Representatives."

THAT LEGISLATIVE body, rural-dominated and still containing only a smattering of Republicans, would undoubtedly elect Maddox, in the opinion of most observers.

The last time members of the Georgia House had a chance to elect a governor, they chose Herman Talmadge on the basis

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WRITE-IN ATTACKED

of some "write-in" votes he was supposed to have gotten in his native Telfair County. Some of these, it was disclosed later, were of a transparent nature.

This occurred when Mr. Talmadge's father, the late Eugene Talmadge, died, after winning the Democratic nomination. The Georgia Supreme Court overruled the action of the House members and named M. E. Thompson acting governor.

Alderman G. Everett Millican, who also is a former state senator, said he thought "it would be a great mistake for us to have a write-in-campaign." He added:

"In the first place, it couldn't be successful. The next thing is: the people have two candidates to vote for for governor—one Democratic, one Republican.

"If they don't want one of these, they've got the choice of the other, and they ought to take it. Beeause, generally speaking, if you write-in in order to beat one candidate, what you really do is give that candidate a better chance to be elected."

Mr. Millican said also that there was a possibility a write-in campaign could force the decision into the House of Representatives.

"I don't think the possibility is great," he said, "but if that happened, it would be a mistake. I think it would be wrong for anybody but the people to select our governor."

COMMENTS FROM the two men got a rebuttal, however, from James O'Hear Sanders, a sponsor for a write-in movement in behalf of former Gov. Ellis Arnall.

"Anyone who thinks of the write-in campaign for Gov. Ellis Arnall has no chance of victory has badly misread the determination of hundreds of thousands of aroused Georgians who cannot accept either Lester Maddox or Howard "Bo" Callaway," he said.

"Following a brief announcement of the start of the write-in campaign," said Mr. Sanders, "more than 50 persons attended a spontaneous rally at the Georgian Terrace Hotel. These 500 delivered a mandate to their elected steering committee—that mandate being to forge ahead with a campaign to elect Ellis Arnall.

"Since that rally, committees have been established, fund-raising has begun, and we have seen the marshaling of support for the write-in campaign by other groups—the Fulton County Democratic Executive Committee, the Young Democrats Club, and Young Democrats organizations at Morehouse College, Emory University and Georgia State College."

"AT 3 P.M., Sunday," added Mr. Sanders, "there will be a state-wide rally of Arnall supporters in the ballroom of the Atlanta Biltmore Hotel, and a college students' parade, with participants from all over Georgia, is scheduled in Atlanta on Wednesday."

Meanwhile, the Fulton Atlanta County Democratic party urged its members Thursday night to write in a candidate for governor in the Nov. 8 general election as a slap at the party's nominee, segregationist Lester Maddox.

A statement issued by the party's executive committee said Maddox did not stand for the platform and "therefore the party cannot accept Mr. Maddox."

The party left the choice of write-in candidate to the voters.

The action brought quick response from Maddox, who has lost the support of several Democratic factions since defeating Ellis Arnall in the primary runoff.

"I have never seen such bitterness before when I have lost," he said. "I think it's time all Democrats, whether spelled with a big D, little D or middle-sized D closed ranks now that they have a mandate from the people."

Jack Turner, head of the Fulton County group, said the statement meant Fulton County Democrats could not support either Maddox or Republican Howard (Bo) Callaway.

The Young Democrats Club executive committee passed a resolution to endorse a write-in campaign for former Gov. Ellis Arnall, beaten in the runoff by Maddox.

In addition Young Democrats at Morehouse College, Emory and Georgia State endorsed write-in campaigns for Arnall. The Georgia State group switched from Jimmy Carter.

These new groups join ranks with another group of about 400 who met Wednesday night in Atlanta and chose to back Arnall as a write-in in November. Arnall is the only defeated primary candidate to announce he would not oppose a write-in campaign.

A few persons at the Fulton Democratic meeting of about 200 protested a write-in because they felt it might help the election of Callaway.

ATL. JOURNAL OCT. 7, 1966.

Republican Fumbling

DISSATISFACTION with the nomination of Lester Maddox as the Democratic candidate for the governorship is spreading.

Several groups are suggesting write-in candidates in place of Mr. Maddox.

Write-ins are fun. But they generally are futile.

Still, if a voter wants to write in the name of Ellis Arnall, Jimmy Carter, or Willie B. III out at the zoo it is his democratic privilege.

Still, something is wrong.

We are supposed to have a two-party system in Georgia this year, and a choice of two candidates. If the voters don't like one, they vote for the other.

If the voters don't like the Democratic Mr. Maddox, they should vote for the Republican Mr. Callaway.

But many can't see a choice. These candidates look a lot alike to a lot of people.

Here is the basis for a Republican failure that could be disastrous. This party still is running Barry Goldwater against Lyndon Johnson, and nobody against Lester Maddox.

Georgia has a lot of Democrats who can't go with Lyndon Johnson in one direction or with Lester Maddox in the other.

They should be able to go with Bo Callaway and the Republicans.

But so far the Callaway strategy has been to overlook this big moderate bloc which could give him victory.

What's the matter, Republicans? Waiting for new guidelines from those computers?

Republicans are nice people, but they're not political.

If they don't grasp this opportunity, they deserve to die.

ATL. JOURNAL OCT. 8, 1966 PAGE ONE

Write-in Helps Foe, Callaway Declares

Rep. Howard (Bo) Callaway, the Republican candidate for governor, says any write-in campaign by dissatisfied Democrats will only help his opponent, Democratic nominee Lester Maddox.

Speaking before some 1,000 persons at a Macon rally Friday, Rep. Callaway said the most a write-in campaign could accomplish would be to throw the election into the Georgia General Assembly where Democrats are already assured of a big majority.

The legislators "in all probability would support Lester Maddox," the GOP standard bearer pointed out. He urged the write-in groups to abandon their efforts and join him.

TWO GROUPS are at work at present. The one with the biggest ads and biggest turnouts so far backs Ellis Arnall who ran second to Mr. Maddox in the Democratic Primary runoff. The other faction is pulling for State Sen. Jimmy Carter.

A rally and parade are being planned by the Arnall write-in group in Atlanta.

"Now the people of Georgia do have a choice, said James Sanders, who helped open a headquarters for the "Write-in, Georgia" organization.

But Rep. Callaway said there is no chance for a write-in to outpoll either himself or Mr. Maddox.

"There are a number of sincere and dedicated people involved in this; people trying to do what they feel is right for the state," the GOP nominee commented. "I would not like to see these people get involved in a situation that would end up helping my opponent."

Although he was skeptical about letting State House and Senate Democrats decide the governor's fate, Rep. Callaway was enthusiastic about them deciding some legislative matters for themselves.

He lauded members of both houses who have organized moves to obtain greater independence from the governor.

A Senate group has been pushing revision of rules to allow a standing committee on committees make assignments, rather than the lieutenant governor. A House movement is under way to elect the speaker by secret ballot to lessen the governor's influence in filling the post.

ATL. JOURNAL. SUNDAY, OCT. 9

Georgia Politics

by CHARLES POU

Weltner Thrust Into Limelight; Maddox Viewed as Leading

Social, Political and Notes From All Over; Besides That, Life Is Composed So Much of Odds and Ends. . . .

Now comes the guessing on who's ahead, Lester Maddox or Bo Callaway? I am really not trying to jinx the fellow (not yet, any how) but a guess here is that as of today the man out front is Maddox. . . .

The following report is highly unconfirmed, but it had been going around in Washington some before Rep. Charles Weltner made his momentous decision not to seek re-election (because of Democratic party nominee Maddox) and it was that: The young Atlanta congressman is considered running-mate timber by Bobby Kennedy, and Kennedy thought so before Weltner had his great wrestling match with conscience.

A word or two of explanation and hedging is needed, even for such far-off and safe speculation as this (man, like it is at least two years and very likely six before folks find out if it is true or not): Presidential nominees seldom choose their running mates, for sure, that is, until they nail down the No. 1 spot — then come all sorts of factors: region, religion, remorse and, as a matter of factor, there might even be a cotton factor. Anyway, the way we heard it, Kennedy threw out the name of Weltner in a private conversation, among others, as a possible name to be considered when and if it becomes the turn of Bobby Kennedy, and if region is a consideration. It was noted that Vice President Hubert Humphrey, also looking to 1972, plugged Weltner mightily after his announcement that he would not crash the Maddox party. . . .

THEY DO HIM WRONG who portray Sen. Richard B. Russell as helping in the campaign of Mr. Maddox. The senior Georgia senator rates in every poll as the state's most popular politician — and one reason he fares so well is a lifelong reputation of messing with no one's politics but his own. The thing about Russell always going to Spain during presidential campaigns, and efforts to make word play on that and the little song from "My Fair Lady," has been far, far overdone in some quarters. Thus it takes real restraint here not to try something like this (assuming Russell is as popular as polls say he is, and has the potential of state party leader they would indicate): During a political campaign, Sen. Russell always hies himself off to Spain, where he lets his party reigns fall gently on the plain.

See? There's absolutely nothing further can be done with it.

But the following story is true. It cannot be recalled whether it has been reported here before.

When President Johnson made his plane-swing through Georgia in 1964 — the fall one, when he was campaigning against Goldwater — he turned to one of the Georgia notables who boarded the plane in Macon and said:

"Where's Dick? Spain? Hell, Franco oughta make him ambassador plenipotentiary . . ."

ANYHOW, that's what LBJ said, and although we usually do not pass along polls from schools, colleges and the like (because one never knows who was rigged, who was the riggee) we will report on one from the Emory University Law School as believed to be honest and with some news value: Both Callaway and Maddox appeared before the students during the past week. A straw vote, participated in by 92 per cent of the students, broke down as follows:

Callaway: 61 per cent.

Maddox: 10 per cent.

Write-ins: 29 per cent.

Some will think the high write-in percentage is the most interesting result of the survey of this particular group, because it would appear to be fairly high. We have a notion, though, not even this group fully understands the likelihoods of the result of write-in. But putting forth notions like that, it strikes here, is bordering on editorializing, in fact dimly creeping up on the shore of it, and we'll just give the breakdown on the write-ins.

There were 68 of these, and Ellis Arnall got 50 of them. Former Sen. Jimmy Carter got 6, House Speaker George T. Smith 2, Mayor Ivan Allen 1, and the rest were scattered among several folks, some of apparent screwball nature.

But one of these wasn't. Sen. Ben Johnson of DeKalb got one vote.

And if the students signed their ballots, we predict a bright future for the kid who voted for Johnson.

The DeKalb legislator also is dean of the law school. . . .

Atl. Journal and Constitution, Oct 9, 1966

WHERE DO THEY GO?

Callaway Utterances Frightens Moderates

By EUGENE PATTERSON

THE CALLAWAY CAMP was taking a crash poll during the past week to see what was going on in the voter's mind. The delay was costing the Republican candidate time. Ten days into the general election campaign for governor, Lester Maddox as well as Howard Callaway seemed to be curiously glued in place.

Some of Maddox's momentum seemed to be spending itself in uncertainty after he startled the nation by running away

Eugene Patterson is editor of The Atlanta Constitution.

with the Democratic nomination. He had no organization, no money, and no experience at winning, so some milling around was to be expected as he tried to learn the ropes.

* * *

MORE SURPRISING was the slow start of the Callaway crowd. Their candidate had money, organization, glamor and high expectations. But he apparently didn't have a contingency plan ready to cover the eventuality of a Maddox victory. He marked time and took a poll.

No poll was really necessary to discern the main outline of the matter.

Maddox had taken away most of the hard-line segregationist vote which Callaway had counted on, together with a loyalist, party-line Democratic vote of indeterminate size.

Callaway, having thus lost the "mad Democrats" on which Goldwaterism was built, was reduced to his impotent minority of white-collar Republicans and whatever number of anti-Maddox Democrats he could attract.

Suddenly, therefore, the moderate Democratic vote became the swing vote in Georgia.

And in the first 10 days neither candidate acted as if he knew it.

Callaway opened his campaign against Maddox by taking a swipe at Gov. Sanders, of all people. Sanders is a leader of the moderates Callaway needs.

Then when Democrat Charles Weltner withdrew from Congress in protest against Maddox's nomination, Callaway did not exploit the opening by joining the Democratic attack on Maddox; instead he slighted Weltner, and for the second time rawhided the moderates whose vote he needs.

* * *

ON HIS RECORD of ax-handle extremism, Maddox cannot hope to win any of the moderate Democratic vote except that part which can put party loyalty above all.

But Callaway can lose the moderates, too. They do not have to turn to him if he makes no turn toward them. They can stay home or stage a protest write-in, which would have the effect of helping Maddox beat him. The extreme discontent among moderates, and the direction it will take, may decide this election.

For all the national head-shaking about Georgia, the state is probably still moderate in its majority, not extremist. The two moderate candidates for governor, Ellis Arnall and Jimmy Carter, polled more votes in the Sept. 14 primary than all four of their segregationist opponents combined.

Moderate Arnall should have beaten the segregationist Maddox in the Sept. 28 runoff if the "Callaway crossover" voters hadn't outsmarted themselves by voting for Maddox—thereby handing their man Callaway a bear by the tail.

* * *

IT IS HARD to credit Callaway's claim that the crossover didn't beat Arnall. He says Arnall carried Republican strongholds, and that's right; but look at the margins. The moderate Arnall carried the Republican stronghold of DeKalb by only 7,000 votes while the moderate George T. Smith carried it by 21,000 for lieutenant governor. (Last Sunday's column corrected, incidentally, on one listing: Whitfield County went for Arnall, not Maddox.)

The moderate Smith's smashing victory statewide over the racially extreme Peter Zack Geer stands as proof that the moderate vote, when spared any tampering or stunting, remains the majority vote in Georgia. If Callaway's polls convince him of that, he may still have some time left to appeal to the moderates to rescue him from the mad Democrats who loved him before Lester showed up.

Page Tightly Bound

Write-In Issue Splits Camps Of Candidates

By CHARLES POU
Atlanta Journal Political Editor

Georgia's two conservative candidates for governor Saturday continued to pursue votes in vastly different fashion, and the side controversy on the "write-in" issue — whether such effort is good, bad or indifferent — moved along with equally vastly different interpretation.

James O'Hear Sanders, a well-known figure in the fight to abolish the county unit system in Georgia, announced plans for a write-in rally in Atlanta Sunday in behalf of former Gov. Ellis Arnall. The event is scheduled at 3 p.m. at the Biltmore Hotel.

Rep. Howard (Bo) Callaway Friday joined some state Democratic leaders as saying any write-in campaign could help only opponent Lester Maddox. There has been some speculation that some Maddox advisers might be in the background during some of the pull-stringing in the write-in effort.

However, Roy V. Harris of Augusta, a veteran Georgia political craftsman and announced supporter of Mr. Maddox, was not immediately available for comment.

"Incredible nonsense," Mr. Sanders said about such rumors, put forth by Mr. Callaway and others. "Mr. Callaway is thrashing aimlessly about in search of hope, and there is little hope for him."

He said the write-in campaign was becoming a "statewide, grassroots" affair. He added:

"It's no secret. There is a giant faction behind this campaign—the biggest of all: The aroused people of Georgia who can neither swallow Lester Maddox nor digest seesaw Howard Callaway.

"THIS FACTION — these Georgians—who cannot sacrifice the state to plain-spoken racism or its sophisticated version are going to vote their consciences and their self-respect. They are going to write in ballots for Gov. Ellis Arnall."

Meanwhile, former Rep. John Greer, who served as campaign coordinator for Mr. Arnall, stayed out of the mainstream of the write-in debate. But he did express concern writing-ins might hurt the cause of Fulton County Democratic candidates. He said:

"The people of Georgia have three chances to vote for a governor: The Democratic candidate, the Republican candidate, or write-in vote for any citizen of the state.

"As a lifelong Democrat who believes that the two-party system is the very backbone of stable government in our nation I cannot bolt the party, no matter how attractive the idea may seem to be.

"As one of the managers of the campaign of Ellis Arnall, I, of course, think he was the most able candidate. We ran a hard race and did the best we could. In Fulton, we have many fine candidates for the Senate and the House of Representatives and a very fine candidate for Congress, Archie Lindsey. I hope that every Democrat in Fulton County will support these candidates and work for their election."

He added that the "two-party system works best for responsible government" and declared that "too much splintering would place us in the position of France . . floundering until in effect they moved into a system of dictatorship. . . ."

The Atlanta Journal

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'YOU LEAD TH' CHEERS, LESTER; I'LL CALL TH' PLAYS!'

Page Tightly Bound

ATL. JOURNAL

Second FRONT

Wednesday, Oct. 12, 1966

PAUL

HEMPHILL

Arnall's Army

Out on the street below, Forsyth Street, there was an orange delivery truck from an office supply firm and the workers were unloading second-hand desks onto the sidewalk. That was a good thing, because if there was one commodity they needed on the fourth floor, in the offices of "Write-In Georgia," it was desks. And chairs and telephones and maybe a sofa, but a desk was a good place to start. Your voice echoed when you spoke, like in a warehouse. The floors were dirty. They were having to run a statewide campaign with two telephones. But at 10:30 Tuesday morning the one thing they had going for them was boundless hope, and one of them sat behind one of the few desks and looked over a pile of letters with dollar bills in them and he looked tired.

PAUL HEMPHILL

"Somebody called it a grass roots campaign," he was saying. "We've changed that to crabgrass roots. This is about as grass roots as you can get."

"How much money have you gotten?" he was asked.

"I haven't opened the mail yet. I'd say we got about $1,400 at the rally Sunday. People are mailing in anything from $1 to $100. There was a $5 bill stuck under the door once."

"Do you really think something will come of this?"

He said, "We have our hopes. I can tell you one thing, though. We sleep well at night. When we find time to sleep."

• Absentee Candidate

One woman from East Point, in a note accompanying a dollar bill, called it "Arnall's Army" in a takeoff on Arnie Palmer's golf followers. It was a good way to describe the people who have gotten sick at the stomach over the choice of either Lester Maddox or Howard (Bo) Callaway for governor of Georgia and have taken on the mammoth job of mounting a write-in campaign for Democrat ex-governor Ellis Arnall.

To say, simply, "mammoth job" does not cover it. The odds against a write-in candidate cannot even be computed. One of the workers, who did not want to be identified, fully understood the obstacles.

"In the first place, we have an absentee candidate," he was saying. "Ellis Arnall won't encourage this or discourage it, as you know. We don't have any money to speak of. Nobody knows how many workers we have because we're only 96 hours old and haven't had time to count them. We have the problem of educating people on how to go about writing in Arnall's name. They can't write 'Governor Arnall,' for instance, because there may be another Arnall around. Actually, it's not a campaign for Ellis Arnall because his case was stated during the campaign. It's a campaign to let the people know they can write-in, and how to do it."

• 'Help, I'm in Maddox Country'

The campaign to write in Ellis Arnall for governor got rolling last week when dissatisfied voters gathered and picked Arnall from six possible candidates. Empty offices at 5 Forsyth St. were found to work out of, and the scramble was on. Letters have been pouring in from around the state, most of them containing small amounts of money. ("Help, I'm in Maddox Country," said one). One man offered the use of his secretary from noon on, every day. Another offered his plane and will fly workers anywhere, anytime. There are plans to publish a sample ballot showing people how to correctly cast a write-in vote. Other necessities such as envelopes, office machines and furniture have been donated.

The point about a write-in which disturbs so many people, however, is what effect it will have on Callaway's chances. It is apparent that many who would have chosen Callaway as the lesser of two evils will now cast their vote for Arnall. This is the main criticism of "Write-In Georgia."

"To bring Ellis Arnall the majority of votes on Nov. 8 is unrealistic," this worker was saying. "But we do hope enough people will vote with pride and force a runoff between Arnall and Maddox. The mandate of the people will have then been made abundantly clear, the legislature will see the handwriting on the wall and will have to name Ellis Arnall as our governor."

He paused to answer questions from a harried worker. "This is not a splinter group of the Democratic party," he said. "This is the Democratic party. Try to conceive of Lester Maddox representing the party in Georgia and a man like John F. Kennedy representing it in the nation and you'll see what I mean."

ATL. JOURNAL, OCT. 12, 1966 PAGE ONE

GOP Losing, Maddox Says; Callaway Cites Klan Talks

By CHARLES POU
Atlanta Journal Political Editor

Rep. Howard (Bo) Callaway temporarily was off the campaign trail Wednesday after a series of slashing, frontal attacks on opponent Lester Maddox in urban and rural southeast Georgia. He says he looks forward eagerly to a scheduled face-to-face meeting with Maddox on a television show.

Before a one-day letup in formal speechmaking—which he says he canceled out because he thought he was going to debate Maddox here Wednesday—the candidate was hitting hard on what he calls differences in "approach" between himself and his opponent in attempts at solving problems.

On racial matters, he said in Claxton Tuesday, one of Maddox's approaches is to talk things over with the Ku Klux Klan. He said the Atlanta segregationist was attending a klan rally in Americus while he, Callaway, was working at means of seeking peaceful solution to racial disorders there.

THE TELEVISION SHOW referred to by Rep. Callaway is now scheduled for Sunday here, via WSB-TV. The rival political camps exchanged statements Tuesday on who had been afraid to meet whom in face-to-face confrontation. But apparently, all along, there had been just the matter of getting together.

CALLAWAY again joined some Democrats and political observers in expressing opposition to the write-in campaign under way in behalf of Ellis Arnall. Most observers believe such a move could possibly benefit only Maddox.

"You just can't win with a write-in," the Republican candidate said. "I would certainly hope that people will vote for either the Democratic or the Republican candidate."

He also once more declared Maddox is surrounded by "old cronies and political hacks," anxious to get back to the statehouse.

If elected, Callaway declared Georgia "will get along without four years of martial law" and new industry will continue to come into the state. He raises those possibilities which might come under the Maddox "approach."

"It would be easy to have federal troops come to Georgia," he said.

But at the same time, he said there would be no riots in Georgia if he is elected. "I went to West Point and I know how to say 'no'," he declared.

The Atlanta Journal

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Write-Ins and Maddox

THE ROLE of the write-in movement in Atlanta as unintentional help for Lester Maddox for governor now is being pondered by a good many Georgia moderates.

This, of course, was not the intention of the movement at the outset. The intention was anything but this. But as the project has gained more notice, its real potential impact has become apparent to more people.

It will take away votes that otherwise might have been cast for Bo Callaway. And if Maddox should run *second* in an election in which neither candidate won a majority because of write-ins, the legislature would be able to elect Maddox nevertheless.

An organized write-in movement that has any success, accordingly, will mean a big potential assist for Maddox. It could give him a second chance—if he should need one.

The governor's race is still very much in the air, despite the feeling of some moderates that Maddox now has it won. When one starts from the premise that the outcome is certain, it is easier to reason that a write-in vote at least would be an effective protest.

But most of the premises of the write-in movement, so far at least, seem wrong: the write-ins clearly *will* help Maddox; the election clearly is *not* decided yet; and there are ways to protest the choice at hand that are better than writing in and taking the chance of putting the Capitol in the hands of totally irresponsible people who would place the state in great danger.

There is no certainty yet that Callaway will present real assurances to moderate-thinking people about what kind of governor he would be. A lot of ears are open for that. Mr. Callaway's failure so far to try to make real distinctions between himself and Mr. Maddox is one of the great mysteries of this campaign.

ATLANTA JOURNAL OCT. 14, 1966

'YAH! YAH! YOU MISSED ME!'

ATL. JOURNAL OCT. 14, 1966

Callaway Predicts State, U.S. Crisis

By TOM GREENE

Republican gubernatorial candidate Howard (Bo) Callaway predicted Friday that Georgia may have "some kind of confrontation with the federal government in the next four years" and needs a responsible governor to face it.

In a speech at Georgia State College sponsored by the Young Republican Club, Rep. Callaway said such a confrontation would mean "the cutting off of federal aid, closed public schools and martial law" if his Democratic opponent, Lester Maddox, is elected.

Gov. Sanders and Lester Maddox say Republicans should pay $77,000 for task of checking Republican petitions —Page 11.

Mr. Callaway, currently 3rd District U.S. representative, said if elected governor, he would "enforce the law of this land" while working within the law to try to change those with which he disagreed.

"I believ you can fight effectively for what you believe in through legal means," he said.

DURING A question and answear session with the students, Mr. Callaway was asked if he were a segregationist as he has been labeled.

He said he's not sure what people mean by such labels but "I believe that every single American citizen should have an equal opportunity . . ." But he added that he thinks "we can do things better (here) without people from Washington coming down and telling us what to do."

Meanwhile, Thursday in Albany Mr. Callaway said a proposed write-in campaign which could drain votes from him is "the only way I can see that Lester Maddox can get elected governor of Georgia today."

Rep. Callaway admitted during daylong campaign appearances there Thursday that he is "extremely concerned" about the move by some Georgians to write in the name of former Gov. Ellis Arnall in the Nov. 8 general election rather than vote for him or his Democratic opponent.

Mr. Callaway, in a question and answer session after a speech to the Albany Rotary Club, said he feels many of those persons involved in the write-in movement are "serious, conscientious" persons who have been led to believe there is no difference between him and Mr. Maddox.

The Republican, in talks throughout the day and in conversations with supporters and potential voters, said he has been surprised and shocked to learn during his campaigning that this question of the difference between him and Mr. Maddox has become the number one issue.

He said at a countywide campaign barbecue rally Thursday night, attended by an estimated 600 to 700 persons paying $1.50 each, that the difference between him and Mr. Maddox "is as the difference between night and day."

In support of his argument, Mr. Callaway ticked off his 14 years in government — 12 years on the Board of Regents and two as Georgia's first Republican congressman—his approach in handling racial matters and the people surrounding him and Mr. Maddox.

Mr. Callaway said while he has been gaining experience in government and civic affairs, "my opponent has never had one single day of experience" in local, state or national government.

POINTING OUT that the next governor will be spending "over $550 million" a year in tax dollars for the next four years, Mr. Callaway said "you've got to have some exprience and knowledge" to do that.

He said while he was promoting calm and reason during the racial difficulties in Americus in 1965, Mr. Maddox attended a KKK rally there and "passed out ax handles."

The candidate promised, "I'm going to fight as hard as anybody ever fought against the unwarranted intrusion of Washington" in state affairs, but said he would do it with a responsible approach and "without closing one single school."

"I say there is a difference between Bo Callaway and Lester Maddox," the Republican said, and "I think that difference is the most important one we've ever had in a governor's race since I've been living."

Mr. Callaway said if Georgians ignore this difference and vote for someone else in a write-in campaign, "all that can happen is it will elect Lester Maddox."

HE SAID the write-in would throw the election of the governor into the House of Representatives, if one of the two candidates did not get a majority, and added "what a mess that would be."

He said he knows he can get along and work with a Democratic controlled General Assembly if elected, "but I can't get Democrats (in the House) to vote for me" for governor.

. . . AND JUST IN TIME FOR HALLOWE'EN!

ATL. JOURNAL - CONSTITUTION
SUNDAY, OCT. 16, 1966

Georgia Politics

by CHARLES POU

Write-In Drive May Resurrect 'County Unit' Governor Vote

The late Paul Stevenson did something right uncommon in state politics. He hung on to a key job in the governor's office administration after administration, through rules of Talmadges and anti-Talmadges.

Reason Paul did it was he had talent, a sometimes rare thing around the statehouse. What he also had was loyalty, a trait fleeting at times as a man's footsteps as he moves from room to room at the Capitol. Paul was loyal to whomever he happened to be working for during a particular four-year period.

Mr. Stevenson's talent was speech-writing, and a real craftsman he was. He would do such a fine job of helping a governor cuss his political enemies that even these political enemies were impressed.

Thus, if one of them happened to become the next governor, the fellow would recall the fine, stinging phrases Paul had helped throw at him, would start trying some of them out for size on his own political enemies, and . . . well, before you knew it Paul would be signed up for another four years.

Speech-writer Stevenson had a great dry wit, but mostly he'd save it for his speeches and keep his mouth shut, something else which is always a good assist in the loyalty business. But occasionally — in private and around friends — Paul would cut loose with some of it.

ONE DAY, somebody was downgrading a state legislator and went on from there to speak harshly of the entire body.

"Oh, no," said Paul, "you mustn't jump on the General Assembly that way. The man you were talking about is in the Senate. Why, over in the House they've got three or four who can read and write. . . ."

This was some years ago, and Mr. Stevenson was about half-kidding, even then. The legislature now has many fine members.

Still, we'd like to use the little story to make this point: The Georgia General Assembly is not the place to elect a Georgia governor.

We refer, of course, to the so-called write-in campaign under way in behalf of former Gov. Ellis Arnall. It is a cruel hoax for any of its sponsors to use as a come-on the possibility that Arnall somehow might get elected governor by this route.

The only possible result of such a movement, we believe even Mr. Arnall would admit, would be to permit the General Assembly to choose between the two top men, Republican Howard Callaway and Democrat Lester Maddox.

It was our guess in this space last Sunday that Mr. Maddox probably is ahead of Mr. Callaway at this point. Latest polls, however, indicate the Republican is out front—but not by enough for a clear win and with many voters reporting in "undecided."

However, you'd find no sampling, no straw-voting, no surveying of any kind which would not show Mr. Maddox way out in front in the number of counties for him.

AND THERE are still 159 of them, remember. And the 205 House members and 54 senators still by far come more from the country counties and little towns than they do from the cities.

And if they had to vote on a new governor—no matter that Callaway had led in the popular vote—the winning vote in the Georgia legislature, following the mandate of the home folks, undoubtedly would be cast for Maddox.

Thus, in effect, you would have another governor elected under the "county unit system."

So we'd like to try here to express an opinion as strongly as we know how—we believe any participation in the formal write-in campaign is an assist for Lester Maddox.

Which is, of course, the individual's own business. Some of the sponsors of the movement privately admit that this is their aim. They apparently operate under the theory that things will have to get worse before they get better.

Reason we sound off here at length about it is a long, through - the - years' dislike of tricky vote schemes.

In our feeble way, we have opposed in times past efforts of friend and foe to put upon us "Dixiecrat" movements, "unpledged elector" schemes, writing into the state constitution the "county unit systems," and a few other election schemes so pea-brained in nature they escape memory.

THE "UNPLEDGED elector" plan, by the way, was much like the so-called "write-in for Arnall" movement. It had in mind withholding enough presidential electoral votes to throw the presidential election into the U.S. House of Representatives.

Some feel even more harshly than we do toward the apparently misguided sponsors of the Arnall write-in movement. Some have labeled it the "Morons for Maddox" drive. That phrase, to us, sounds awfully like an insult to their intelligence.

We know Mr. Arnall is smarter than that. Maybe he wasn't kidding when he said he was going to help the party nominee.

Arnall Write-in Stickers Sought

An aide of Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. says a suit will be filed this week under the 1965 Voting Rights Act seeking to use stickers in voting for Ellis Arnall as a write-in candidate for governor.

Present law requires voters to actually write the names of write-in candidates on the ballot. This poses a problem for illiterates.

Hosea Williams, an officer in Dr. King's Southern Christian Leadership Conference, said success of the suit would permit stickers with Mr. Arnall's name to be printed and stuck onto the general election ballot Nov. 8.

THE SUIT, as described by Mr. Williams, would require Secretary of State Ben Fortson Jr. to provide envelopes and "all that is needed for a write-in" at the polls. But the stickers apparently would be provided by write-in leaders.

Plans for the suit were announced Sunday night at a fund-raising "shoestring banquet" sponsored by a write-in organization for Mr. Arnall, who lost to Democratic nominee Lester Maddox in the Democratic runoff primary.

It was pointed out the suit will be based on the Voting Rights Act which makes it unlawful "to require any degree of literacy."

ABOUT 400 PERSONS attended the banquet, which was halted for 30 minutes from 8:30 until 9 so the debate between Mr. Maddox and his Republican opponent, Howard (Bo) Callaway, could be seen on television.

William Barrett of Augusta, principal speaker at the banquet, charged that Mr. Arnall has been "hounded" by persons who, Mr. Barrett said, abandoned the ex-governor when it appeared that Mr. Callaway would win.

"I want to serve notice on these gentlemen," Mr. Barrett said, "that you cannot pressure us, buy us or blackmail us into voting for Bo Callaway by giving us as an only alternative

Oct. 18, 1966, Atl. Journal

The Atlanta Journal

"Covers Dixie Like the Dew"

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'The Realism of Racism'

RECENT primary elections in the South have shown a yawning gap behind whites and Negroes. "The task of Southern leadership now is to point out the realism of racism . . . and close that gap."

So said Congressman Charles L. Weltner of Atlanta to the Woman's National Democratic Club in Washington Monday.

Thus our young congressman, whose recent withdrawal on principle from this year's congressional election won him the admiration of millions of people, continued to point up the real obstacle to progress in human affairs in the South.

It is not the lack of a two-party system, the lack of enough industry or the lack of enough honesty (of the fiscal kind) in government, desirable as all these are. It is just racism.

So, as Congressman Weltner said, the task of Southern leadership now is "to point out the realism of racism. . . ." Many people have not been ready to look it in the eye. Our politicians, including many of those who performed admirably on other matters not so close to the real problems of home, have been unable to face up to the simple fact of racism and stop dealing in sophistries about it. Many even have rebelled at the word. (The truth has been buried that deep.)

What is needed, then, is a time of candor with ourselves. Perhaps more people are ready now to say, in effect, stop the *stuff;* let's be honest.

Why does Georgia have the governor's race it now has? Racism, in one form or another, accounts for each candidate's being where he is. Whatever may be either man's personal values, each has ridden that tiger.

But the whole experience may have the value of doing exactly what Mr. Weltner is talking about: It may "point up the realism of racism" in the South, and thus make it more difficult to imagine that racism as we see it in its subtler forms is not really there, crippling us.

In this decade when even the ax-handle racists are using symbols rather than "nigger-nigger"—talking about states rights, constitutional (?) government, individual liberty, etc., etc., when everyone knows who most of them are talking about—it will be good if Southern leadership does face up to the realism of racism here and stop deceiving even itself about it.

There are quite a few signs, such as Rep. Weltner's speech, that a new willingness to be honest is peeking out. But in Georgia at this point, it is just a willingness born of immediate political crisis, and it is too early to tell whether it will grow.

Exercise in Futility

THERE IS a movement, mainly by die-hard Ellis Arnall fans, to write in the name of their defeated candidate in the general election.

The idea seems to be that Mr. Arnall, having roundly b e e n trounced, somehow will bounce back and win the governorship this time.

Mr. Arnall has a lot of bounce for sure. But he's older than he used to be and we learned this season that a lot of the old spring is gone.

We admire the never-say-die spirit behind this move though the logic escapes us:

Every write-in vote for Mr. Arnall in the general election is likely to bring Lester Maddox that much closer to the new mansion on Paces Ferry, and we doubt if that is what the write-inners want.

Examination of this movement indicates that there is more meringue than pie to it, and that some of the state's most famous (and ineffective) agonizers and eyeball rollers are working on it.

It seems far removed from the grass roots.

Certainly it is miles from random samplings of The Journal street poll as published on Monday. Here are a pair of quotes concerning the movement from this poll.

"I don't think it would be effective."

"I don't think it would be a good idea. When somebody's been defeated he ought to stay out."

That's the trend from the man in the street.

He's the one who decides finally.

We've had a primary and a runoff, and a general election is coming up. This gives most of us three chances to vote for the next governor.

Is a write-in necessary? Or is it an exercise in futility, unless you're a Maddox partisan and see a chance to ge. extra help for your candidate that way.

Fortson, Write-In Group Clash Over Election Code

By DON WINTER

A group backing a write-in campaign for Ellis Arnall has failed to persuade Secretary of State Ben Fortson to change his instructions for conducting the Nov. 8 general election.

Lawyers speaking for the Write-In Georgia Committee differed with Mr. Fortson Tuesday on sections of the 1964 Election Code dealing with pre-printed stickers, the write-in procedure for votomatic machines, and whether a governor would be chosen by the legislature or in a runoff if no candidate got a majority of the vote.

Mr. Fortson argued the lawyers' interpretations of all three matters, but he would ask for an official opinion from the state attorney general.

A POINT in question was whether lack of a majority means election of a governor by the legislature. Mr. Fortson read the portion of the state constitution saying that returns from each county are forwarded to him, and he gives them, still unopened, to the State Senate when it meets the following January.

"Officially, you don't even know who wins until the legislature meets," Mr. Fortson said. "The constitution says, specifically, that they're to pick a governor if they find—at that time—no one has a majority."

The lawyers in answer quoted the election code, which says: "No candidate shall be . . . elected to public office . . . unless . . . (he) shall have received a majority of the votes cast. . . . In instances where no candidate receives a majority . . . a runoff . . . election shall be held, between the two candidates receiving the highest number of votes. . . ."

Mr. Fortson said it had always been done his way in the past, and that if the code was in conflict with the constitution, then the constitution would have to be followed.

On another point the lawyers asked that voters be allowed to take pre-printed stickers bearing Arnall's name into the polling booth. Although the voting code says "the insertion of such name (of the write-in candidate) . . . by the use of a sticker, paster, stamp or other printed or written matter is prohibited," the lawyers said the section deals only with paper ballots.

Mr. Fortson said that he remained firm in his belief that stickers were illegal. Paper ballots are official, he said. If machines are used their ballots must conform as nearly as possible to specifications for the paper ballot.

ATL. JOURNAL OCT 19, 1966

ACLU Asks Curb On Write-in Laws

A federal court has been asked to strike down sections of Georgia's election laws regarding write-in voting.

No hearing date has yet been set for the suit, court officials said Wednesday. The suit was filed late Tuesday by lawyers for the American Civil Liberties Union.

The action seeks to promote prefabricated write-in voting by allowing a voter to attach a sticker bearing a write-in candidate's name. The election laws at present require the voter to write the candidate's name on the ballot.

The suit charges this violates the 1965 Voting Rights Act ban against requiring voters to be literate. It also alleges that write-in voters are denied an absolute secret ballot.

THE ACTION was brought in U.S. District Court on behalf of five plaintiffs, including three plaintiffs identified as illiterate Negroes. They were listed as Laura Seabron, Mary Patrick and Dorothy Clark. The other plantiffs were identified as Mrs. Florence Robin, director of the Georgia ACLU, and Rev. John Morris, of the Episcopal Society for Cultural and Racial Unity.

Defendants were listed as Secretry of State Ben Fortson, Georgia Election Board members Mrs. Harry B. Williams and H. H. Perry Jr., and Fulton County Ordinary Eugene Gunby.

The petition filed Tuesday asked appointment of a three-judge panel to hear the case, and for a temporary injunction against enforcement of the current election laws.

FILING OF the suit, which earlier had been announced by Rev. Hosea Williams of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference as a move to enhance the write-in chances of defeated candidate Ellis Arnall, was preceded by a visit to Mr. Fortson by a 12-mmeber group which promotes the write-in sticker plan.

In a prepared statement, the write-in group said election laws concerning write-in votes are confusing, contradictory and vague, and "it is impossible to determine how voters desiring to write in the name of Ellis Arnall may lawfully and legally do so."

Mr. Jacobs also complained that Votomatic machinery, which involves punching a card ballot, makes no provision for write-in votes unless the card is accompanied by an envelope.

HE SAID election officials give out envelopes only to those persons who ask for them and that this indicates those persons intend to write in the name of a candidate other than an official nominee. He said this destroys some of the public secrecy of the ballot and possibly could lead to intimidation of some voters.

The suit filed in U.S. District Court late Tuesday was presented by Charles Morgan Jr., Southern regional director of the ACLU and Morris Brown, head of the Georgia ACLU's Lawyers' Committee.

ATLANTA JOURNAL Oct. 19, 1966

'ALL ALONE . . . BY THE TELEPHONE . . .'

The Atlanta Journal

"Covers Dixie Like the Dew"

Since 1883

Jack Tarver, President • Jack Spalding, Editor

Dead End Write-In

THERE WILL be a general election on November 8. Part of it will be selecting a man to govern us for the next four years.

Whoever it is will be responsible for the course of the state. He will set the tone. On him will depend many things, including advancement of the common schools and the University System of Georgia.

The image of the state in the rest of the world will depend on this new governor. Upon this image largely depends the type of educator we can attract to add quality to our schooling and the kind of industry and capital we can attract to add strength to our economy.

We have had a Democratic primary and a runoff and Lester Maddox has emerged as the candidate of the Georgia division of this party.

Mr. Maddox won this nomination by all the rules, including hard work.

On the other hand, we have Rep. Bo Callaway, the first Republican candidate for the governorship in nearly a century. Mr. Callaway's candidacy is based on a petition signed by more than 100,000 voters.

And on the other hand? We have a write-in movement by the Arnallites who will not or cannot accept their defeat under the rules of the Democratic primary and are trying to revive their favorite by this method.

Circumstances suggest an autopsy instead.

Barring a suspension of natural laws this move is doomed to failure.

Its total effect will be to help Mr. Maddox. Is that what these people want? Or don't they know any better?

ATL. JOURNAL OCT. 19, 1966 PAGE ONE

Can Legislature Choose Governor?

By WILLIAM B. WILLIAMS

Some legal experts are raising the question whether the malapportioned Georgia legislature could legally elect the next governor should the requirement arise.

It has been learned that some legal attorneys are beginning to probe into the matter.

If no candidate receives a majority vote in the governor's race, the legislature is required to decide on one of the top two candidates.

There are two questions:

—Since a majority of House seats are representative of only 42.3 per cent of the state's population, somebody's vote is bound to be debased.

—Since the malapportioned House is apportioned along sectional lines, such an election would be almost like the county unit system which has been ruled unconstitutional.

A three-judge federal court already has ruled the Georgia Legislature is malapportioned, and has given it one year to apportion itself correctly.

One attorney said he doubts the court would look favorably upon the power of such a legislature being extended for four years through election of a governor.

He said there is an inherent inconsistency in the laws providing for the election of a governor.

ONE LAW provides that a candidate must get a majority of the popular vote to be legally elected governor.

But if the candidate gets 49 per cent of the popular vote, his nearest opponent could be elected governor by the legislature — which 42.3 per cent of the people control on a majority basis.

Attorney Francis Shackelford of Atlanta, a veteran of reapportionment cases, said that offhand he believes election by the legislature would be legal.

HE ADDED, however, that citizens could seek a federal court injunction, and the matter would be in the hands of the judges.

Two other attorneys who are pondering the matter said they feel such an election would be illegal.

At least 68 of the 141 House districts are outside the court's one-man, one-vote requirement.

Some districts are malapportioned 30 per cent or more.

IN THE SENATE, four of 54 districts are more than 15 per cent under-represented, according to the findings of the court.

House members, however, can outvote the Senate about four to one.

Page Tightly Bound

ATL. JOURNAL

Callaway Is Ahead in Georgia

By ROWLAND EVANS and ROBERT NOVAK

DESPITE PANICKY fear by thoughtful Georgia voters that all is lost, the fact is that arch-segregationist Lester Maddox, the Democratic candidate for governor, is now running well behind Republican Rep. Howard (Bo) Callaway and should lose.

This forecast is based on several factors, not least of which is a confidential voter sample by pollster Oliver Quayle for a prominent Atlanta citizen who has ties to neither Maddox nor his opponent. It shows Callaway with a surprising lead.

Callaway is a conservative Republican and fervent supporter of Barry Goldwater in 1964 who came into congress on the Goldwater Southern tide. He votes a hard-line conservative position.

But the enlightened Democrats who have made Atlanta one of the show cities of the South are now using every financial and political resource they have to elect Republican Callaway.

"Either we go back to the Dark Ages with Maddox or to the Middle Ages with Callaway," explained one frightened Atlanta progressive. In short, Callaway is the lesser evil.

* * *

FEAR OF DELIVERING the state into the racist hands of Lester Maddox, former restaurant owner who passed out ax handles to whites to keep Negroes away from his door, has been a pervasive emotion in Atlanta every since Maddox upset moderate former Gov. Ellis Arnall in the Democratic primary.

Now, however, panic is giving away to action. Secret contacts have been made with leaders of the large, responsible Negro population in Atlanta who may hold the balance of power.

Sen. Herman Talmadge, the state's most powerful Demo-

crat, has pulled back from giving Maddox the benefit of his personal organization. The image-makers of Atlanta — bankers, industrialists, academicians — are pulling out all the stops to stop Maddox.

The reasons for this campaign go well beyond the race question. A thrice - defeated candidate for lesser office than governor, Maddox is a political primitive who knows nothing about government. He has already surrounded himself with a horde of office-seekers who can smell the gravy that flows out of the state capital.

* * *

WORSE YET, HIS first selections for the party's state executive committee consisted exclusively of right-wing Democrats, some of whom are members of the Ku Klux Klan. Because the 120-member executive committee picks Georgia's delegates to the 1968 Democratic National Convention, this points to the spectre of grave troubles for President Johnson with a Maddox-led Georgia.

But the bi-partisan plan of battle against Maddox must be waged largely out of public view to avoid making a martyr of Maddox. He talks the language of the small town and the poor whites — back-country wool hats and low-income city workers.

Consequently, a noisy assault on Maddox by the Atlanta power structure could boomerang with these low-income voters who are quite in sympathy with his views on the racial crisis.

One such voter told us he was for Callaway until the liberal-leaning Democratic mayor of Atlanta, Ivan Allen, attacked the "rabble of prejudice, extremism, buffoonery, and incompetency" that nominated Maddox over Arnall.

* * *

"THE MAYOR WAS talking about me," this voter said. "I'm voting for Maddox now."

With all this, the Quayle Poll showing Callaway a clear favorite as of last week (44 per cent Callaway, 32 per cent Maddox, balance undecided) will come as a shot in the arm for the coalition of moderate Democrats and conservative Republicans who feel Callaway's election is essential to keep Georgia out of the Dark Ages.

Moreover, this poll parallels a periodic series of voter samples that the Callaway camp, under campaign chief Bill Amos, has been taking all summer and fall. The Amos polls, too, show a high undecided portion of the vote.

To hold the Callaway strength and build it beyond the 50 per cent mark, however, the senseless write-in move for Arnall that some liberal Democrats are encouraging must be stamped out. Every Arnall vote would come from Callaway.

It is also essential that Callaway, a politically-inflexible textile millionaire who is resisting all deals with anti-Maddox Democrats, start to count Democratic votes. If this is done, Maddox can and will be beaten.—(c 1966.)

The Atlanta Journal

"Covers Dixie Like the Dew"

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The Quangle Wangle

IT IS SAID in some quarters—and we cannot vouch for it—that Sen. Herman Talmadge has pulled back a bit from his extension of aid to Lester Maddox's campaign for governor.

Sen. Talmadge has been extraordinarily adroit at moving his hand behind the scenes when it comes to choosing a governor. In 1954, it was difficult to see him at work at all before the last few days of the campaign in which he quietly aided Marvin Griffin.

But this time his hand was found, very early, in efforts to organize some pro-Talmadge but anti-Maddox Democrats behind Maddox. Was this only so that Talmadge people would be placed in key positions in the "new" Democratic organization under Mr. Maddox?

And now that that has been accomplished, is Sen. Talmadge through helping Mr. Maddox? That hardly seems likely.

No doubt the guessing about it will be prolonged.

The senator looms so large in our state's affairs and yet so seldom lets his hand be seen that we sometimes believe it would be appropriate for Georgia to adopt a new state bird: the Quangle Wangle.

You remember the Quangle Wangle. Edward Lear wrote about him. He wrote:

On the top of the Crumpety Tree
The Quangle Wangle sat,
But his face you could not see,
On account of his Beaver Hat
For his hat was a hundred and two feet wide
With ribbons and bibbons on every side
And bells and buttons, and loops and lace,
So that nobody ever could see the face
Of the Quangle Wangle Quee.

sales of season tickets, more than ever before.

Part of the enthusiasm is related to Robert Shaw, even though he will not conduct the orchestra this year; the mere fact that he is coming and great things are afir for music in Atlanta engenders great expectation.

And so does the building of Atlanta Memorial Cultural Center, which will be the symphony's home season after next. (Next year, the orchestra will hold forth in the new Municipal Auditorium.)

This year Robert Mann, the associate conductor, will lead the Symphony when guest conductors are not on hand, and he will do it well.

Maybe we shouldn't say it this way. But it is good to see them off and running.

Now, a 'Paste-In'

THREE FEDERAL judges will hear a challenge of the state's election procedures.

It is another development of our current political season, which at this stage matches Republican Bo Callaway against Democrat Lester Maddox for the governorship.

Mr. Maddox emerged as the Democratic nominee after a primary and a runoff in which he soundly trounced Ellis Arnall. Mr. Callaway was nominated by petition.

But are the Arnall people satisfied with the results obtained according to rules and regulations and after two trips to the polls by the electorate?

No. They have the idea that given another chance their old friend will win, though what he has added in the way of political attractiveness since then is a mystery.

At any rate, they're promoting something called a "write-in," which, whether they realize it or not, should be favorable to Lester Maddox.

Now somebody is asking the judges to extend the "write-in" idea by allowing a "paste-in. A "paste-in" is a "write-in" for people who can't write.

We can understand secret Maddox agents working hard for this "write-in" and especially for the "paste-in."

But the enthusiasm of the Arnallites is difficult to figure, unless it's one of those masked desires to suffer exquisitely again and again.

ATLANTA JOURNAL Oct. 20, 1966

'FEAR NOT, FAIR MAIDEN; I GO TO SEEK THE GRAIL!'

ATL. JOURNAL OCT. 21, 1966 PAGE 1

PINEY WOODS PETE Says:

DEAR MISTER EDITOR:

A group calling itself "Write-In Georgia" is flooding the mail with appeals to voters to write in the name of Ellis Arnall for governor on Nov. 8. One, addressed to "Women of Georgia," says:

"The politics that left us faced with the intolerable choice between Bo Callaway, Democrat turned Republican, rightist - with - education, voter - against - federal - aid-to-education and against the minimum wage . . . and Lester Maddox, that vicious joke of Georgia and all people of good will—in effect took away your votes, disenfranchised us. What can you do? Write In Ellis Arnall."

If effective enough, this could throw the election into the Georgia House, where Maddox likely would win. Why bite off one's nose to spite the face?

Yours truly,
PINEY WOODS PETE.

ATL. JOURNAL OCT. 22, 1966 PAGE ONE

Callaway Assails 'Stick-in' Project

By STEVE BALL JR.
Atlanta Journal Staff Writer

VALDOSTA, Oct. 22—If the proposed "stick-in" voting is declared legal it could well force the governor's election into the House of Representatives, Howard (Bo) Callaway said.

And if that happened, the House would almost certainly elect Lester Maddox, the Republican candidate for goveronr told a press conference here.

Rep. Callaway, invading what on the surface appears to be Maddox Country, shook thousands of hands in Douglas and Valdosta Friday, and predicted he will carry the 8th Congressional District.

Following a minute-by-minute schedule, the GOP nominee moved from plant to plant to shake hands with workers.

SOMEWHERE along the way someone wrote "Maddox Country" on a window of the minibus he uses for a rolling headquarters and it stayed most of the day.

At the press conference Rep. Callaway again confessed he cannot understand why he can't win over the supporters of the write-in campaign for Ellis Arnall.

He said he has not changed his conservative stance one bit since the campaign began.

"I stand for a firm belief that we can solve our own problems in Georgia better than they can solve them in Washington.

"This means I very firmly believe we can and must do more in Georgia."

He wants the same things for Georgia that the supporters of Mr. Arnall want, the candidate added.

ELABORATING ON the prospect of an election by the House, Rep. Callaway said, "I don't see much chance of a Republican winning out of the confusion . . . I would just as soon have a vote for Maddox as the write-in."

He said he is "reasonably" concerned about the write-in now and if the courts should allow the use of stickers "then we would be in serious trouble."

The election of a governor by the House would present all sorts of problems, he said. One of these would be the legal question of whether the majority of Democrats who would theoretically be bound by their party oath to support the Democratic nominee would be allowed to decide the issue.

The candidate also wondered aloud what the courts would say about election of a governor through a malapportioned legislature.

Asked how he feels about county consolidation, Rep. Callaway said, "I don't think the time is right now to force counties to consolidate against their will. I think the approach is to make it easy to consolidate services."

He vigorously denied that Callaway Gardens, which he heads, gets by without paying taxes because it is under the Callaway Foundation.

HE SAID Callaway Gardens is the largest taxpayer in the county and said it pays state and federal income taxes as well as ad valorem taxes.

Rep. Callaway wound up his campaigning here by attending the Valdosta High School football game. Local school board officials decided earlier not to announce his presence on a loud speaker at the game because, they said, this would be getting the high school into politics.

Rep. Callaway showed up anyway, shook some hands at the gate and then watched most of the first half of the ball game. He went unnoticed by most spectators but he seemed to enjoy the ball game.

Carmichael Throwing Support to Callaway

By The Associated Press

James V. Carmichael, who won on popular votes but lost the governorship to Eugene Talmadge in 1946 on county units, announced Saturday his support of Republican Howard H. Callaway for governor.

Carmichael stressed that he is a Democrat and probably would have voted for Ellis Arnall if Mr. Arnall had been the Democratic nominee.

"But Mr. Arnall is not a candidate," he said. "We have only two candidaes and Bo Callaway is my choice."

Mr. Carmichael denounced proposed write-in movements and those who say they are "going fishing" on election day "as a vote for Lester Maddox."

He said he opposes Mr. Maddox "because if his philosophy is allowed to prevail, it will result in anarchy and mob rule."

Mr. Carmichael received 313,389 votes to 297,245 for Mr. Talmadge in the 1946 election. However, the victory went to Mr. Talmadge, the late father of Sen. Herman Talmadge, on county votes 242 to 146.

THE COUNTY UNIT system in Georgia since has been outlawed.

"America became great under a two-party system, and efforts to organize a third party, write-in movements, paste-in movements or what have you have always served to help those they are aimed against," Mr. Carmichael said in his announcement.

"The choice is between the Democratic candidate and the Republican candidate. One is bound to be elected.

"People who go fishing or write-in are only trying to salvage their conscience.

"Maddox is interpreting the laws in his own way. He chooses the laws he likes and obeys them. Those he dislikes, he disobeys.

"Callaway is experienced in business and in government, and I consider him qualified to handle the millions of dollars that flow through the treasury.

"We ALL have a duty to vote, and we have no right to go fishing or write-in to salvage our conscience. The two candidates we have are the only choice we have. A write-in is a farce. It never has elected a candidate and it never will.

"Anyone who thinks otherwise is making a grave mistake."

The expression "go fishing" is a colloquialism referring to a refusal to vote for either candidate.

Georgia's county unit system, which alloted votes to candidates on whether they carried and individual county, was outlawed in 1962. It was weighed heavily in favor of rural voters.

ATL. JOURNAL - CONSTITUTION
SUNDAY OCT. 23, 1966

'SOMEBODY TRIED TO DROWN HIM IN TH' OLD COUNTY UNIT MILL POND! CAN I KEEP HIM, MOTHER? CAN I?'

SUNDAY, OCT. 23, 1966

Georgia Politics

by CHARLES POU

A Negro Leader Speaks Out Against That Write-In Campaign

You express opinion in a controversy and you make some happy, some unhappy. Thus it came as no surprise that projection here of an anti-write-in view (in opposition to the formal Ellis Arnall write-in movement, that is) last Sunday brought some calls and letters of protest.

We had said it was our belief that the formal write-in campaign was of direct aid and comfort to the candidacy of Lester Maddox. Some, we reported, had even tagged the thing the "Morons for Maddox" division of the Maddox campaign.

One little lady called to object to the piece in general and specifically to what she thought was omission in it of the fact that there are some fine, dedicated citizens working in the drive. We thought we had pointed this out. But, rereading the piece, we realize we didn't emphasize it enough, hereby apologize, hereby say it again: there are some fine, dedicated citizens working in the drive. Bless 'em.

A COUPLE OF letters were from old friends saying they had to disagree with the writer this time. In the piece we said there was little doubt, in our mind, that the two top vote-getters would be Maddox and Callaway and that when the thing (if the write-in movement forced a runoff) got to the Georgia General Assembly, that body undoubtedly would choose Democrat Maddox.

One friend pointed out no one, including us, could predict all the time what the good old Georgia Legislature is going to do. True. But you watch 'em for 15, 16 years and you get where you can make pretty shrewd guesses.

Were it not for a painful trait of modesty, the writer here would say some of the letters and calls were complimentary. Oh, stuff like "rendered a public service." "How perspicacious can one get?" (whatever that meant). Some letters contained even more fulsome expressions than these, heady stuff which made the reporter blush with deep embarrassment as he shyly passed the mail along to superiors.

SO WE'LL SKIP all of those and instead we'll present the views of a far more eloquent spokesman on the subject than the writer, after making it clear the spokesman does not want what he says here to be interpreted as endorsement of the candidacy of Republican Callaway.

Jesse Hill, Negro newspaper publisher, a top official in a multimillion-dollar insurance company and a longtime leader in the Negro civil rights movement, was a telephone caller Saturday and said:

"I want to point up some of the tragic possibilities of the write-in movement. I know well that there are dedicated people working in behalf of it, but I do not believe they know that, in the very write-in movement in which they work, there are working forces of Mr. Maddox, aiding and encouraging the movement. I have evidence of it. . . ."

THAT'S THE WAY he concluded a dictated statement on the subject. He began:

"What I hope we (Negroes) can do is set the stage for effective and realistic political action. The write-in movement has had my sympathy, understanding and support from its inception.

"There are many dedicated Georgians involved, including some of my close associates. A close analysis of the write-in movement, however, clearly indicates that there is no genuine and effective political alliance possible.

"If the election were held today, a minimum of 80 per cent of the voters attempting to write in would be Negro voters. In many areas of our state, most of these write-in voters would have their votes disqualified or thrown out because of improper balloting.

"This would have the effect not only of draining off votes in the governor's race but in many instances also of disfranchising Negro voters who desire to vote in important local races."

MR. HILL HAS directed most of the major Negro registration drives during the past 10 years. In Atlanta, an estimated 50,000 Negro voters have been added in that decade. But in politics he is a realist, and he continued:

"Even in politically affluent Atlanta at each election thousands of Negroes go to the polls, receive ballots—and then fail to have their votes recorded, even with Negroes supervising the election polls.

"Early next week I plan to join others to call upon my associates, who had asked my advice about entering the write-in movement, to enter into a serious and honest evaluation of the movement and to ask themselves this question: Can the Negro cast an effective vote in the governor's election by voting directly as between Mr. Maddox or Mr. Callaway?

"Granted," he went on, "both men are arch-conservatives and segregationists. But the Civil Rights Act and other federal programs of nondiscrimination have removed from the reach of discretionary powers the basic issues of either would-be governor.

"THEREFORE I believe that (Negro) voters can arrive at a choice, one that is not necessarily enthusiastic but which would be in the best interest of rank and file citizens.

"Any would-be leader who fails to take the trouble to face up to a nasty political problem is failing to keep faith with those he would lead."

Mr. Hill, as an early advocate of the write-in movement, was one who suggested the pending federal suit which would permit liberalizing ballot procedures on write-ins. He said about this:

"Under the suit, if it were successful, there would have been some intriguing and hopeful (write-in) possibilities. But with only slightly more than two weeks before the election, I have advance opinions of some of the attorneys sympathetic to the movement that its chances of success are virtually nil . . .

"I think we (Negroes) in January should insist that whoever is governor, Mr. Callaway or Mr. Maddox, be the governor for all Georgians. I think that we should participate in the selection of the governor."

Thus Mr. Hill was another who came close to labeling the write-in thing the "Morons For Maddox" movement.

ATLANTA JOURNAL, Oct. 25, 1966

THE RELUCTANT DRAG-IN

The Atlanta Journal

"Covers Dixie Like the Dew"

Since 1883

Jack Tarver, President • Jack Spalding, Editor

Street Journal report, but the housewives indicate they are going to keep at it.

The supermarket people, meanwhile, maintain that the housewives are after the wrong men. They maintain that the women should really be mad at the Johnson administration and that's where they should take out their anger.

It could well be that the supermarket people are right in what they say. And it also could be that the housewives around the nation are merely waiting until the next election, at which time they will, indeed, take out their anger.

Burden of Guilt

THIS SEASON has produced a Democratic primary and a runoff which resulted in Lester Maddox as the gubernatorial candidate of that group, as well as titular head of the Democratic party of Georgia.

It also has produced, via the petition route, another candidate, Rep. Bo Callaway of Pine Mountain. Mr. Callaway is a Republican, the first of that breed to rise this high politically in Georgia in our time.

The season also has produced a write-in movement on behalf of ex-Gov. Ellis Arnall. It was Mr. Arnall's misfortune to trail Mr. Maddox in the runoff. Nevertheless there are those who somehow think he can win some way via the write-in method.

However, the logic of the situation indicates that each write-in vote for Mr. Arnall aids in the election of Mr. Maddox. This is an event which fills the minds of many of our citizens with dread.

In this group is to be found John A. Sibley of Atlanta. Mr. Sibley is a lawyer with a penchant for public service and a reputation for rectitude.

On Monday Mr. Sibley gave his endorsement to Mr. Callaway as by far the best man for the governorship, and had this to say about the write-ins.

"Those of my fellow Georgians who are threatening to go fishing or to vote a write-in ticket on election day are aiding Mr. Maddox and must accept the blame should Mr. Maddox be elected."

Mr. Sibley is correct. The write-in does favor Mr. Maddox. And those active in it definitely must accept the blame should Mr. Maddox be elected.

AJC, JOURNAL. OCT. 26, 1966 PAGE 1

Envelopes Ordered For Votomatic Users

By RALEIGH BRYANS

Atty. Gen. Arthur Bolton has ruled that all voters in counties using Votomatic recorders must be handed write-in ballot envelopes as a matter of course, and not just on request.

Because it means that everyone who goes to the polls will be handed the same ballots—both a Votomatic ballot and a write-in ballot—the ruling means that the voter who goes with the intention of writing in a vote in the governors race won't be conspicuous about it.

Mr. Bolton's ruling was relayed to Thomas Malone, Fulton County's supervisor of elections, via Associate County Atty. John Ferguson.

Mr. Malone said he is confident the ruling will allay fears of some voters that the usual secrecy in voting would be lost if voters chose to write in.

This feared loss of secrecy figures in a suit challenging the state election code provisions for write-in voting in Votomatic counties.

Mr. Malone said the write-in ballot-envelope is designed so that the separate Votomatic ballot can be inserted in a special "pouch" inside it.

This means the voter can place both ballots in the ballot box at one time and theoretically no one in the polling place would know if he had written in or not.

Anyone who voted both ballots would have his vote voided.

ATL. JOURNAL OCT. 27, 1966

GRAVY TRAIN

Secrecy Argument Fails in Vote Suit

By WILLIAM B. WILLIAMS

A three-judge federal court Friday dismissed complaints that counties using Votomatic machines are violating ballot secrecy for write-in voters.

The decision came after hearing arguments that voters should be allowed to use gummed labels to paste in the name of their favorite candidate in the Nov. 8 general election.

The hearing on whether use of gummed labels is legal was to resume later Friday.

Earlier, state officials and county ordinaries in Votomatic counties agreed to adopt procedures which would assure write-in voters of a secret ballot.

Attorneys for the American Civil Liberties Union which brought the paste-in suit agreed that since Votomatic counties will provide secrecy, this part of the contention should be dismissed.

DURING the arguments on the case, U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals Judge Griffin Bell expressed concern that Georgia law was changed this year so that a person could only assist one illiterate voter in an election. The old law had allowed a person to help as many as 10 illiterates per election.

He asked defense attorney Howard Hill why the old law had been changed and chided people who "sit around thinking up something that will result in a law suit."

Judge Bell said the new law is "putting too much of a burden on the voter."

Mr. Hill said the new law would discourage campaign workers from taking over.

"You'd have to have a lot of campaign workers," said Judge Bell. "This makes it as hard as possible on the voter."

Also asking questions about the one-person assistance law were U.S. District Judges Lewis R. Morgan and Sidney O. Smith Junior.

PLAINTIFF'S attorney Charles Morgan said that with the use of pre-spelled gum stickers confusion in spelling can be avoided and illegible handwriting problems would be minimized.

Otherwise, he contended, "this is going to be the world's largest spelling bee."

The three judges were trying to determine what Georgia officials would do about counting the vote should wide variations in spelling result from a write-in campaign.

Under attack are 15 sections of the Georgia election code dealing with write-in procedure and assistance of voters.

Attorneys for the Georgia Election Board, named as a defendant in the action, say that 16 states ban the use of stick-ins and this has been upheld by courts.

Sixteen other states permit paste-ins, the defendants added.

PLAINTIFFS in the action contended that the ban on paste-ins violates the 1965 Voting Rights Act, which prohibits barring persons from the polls because they can not read and write.

Some Georgia voters who oppose both Republican Howard (Bo) Callaway and Democrat Lester Maddox in the governor's race have launched a write-in campaign for former Gov. Ellis Arnall, defeated in the Democratic primary runoff.

Members of the election board are Secretary of State Ben Fortson, Mrs. Melba Williams and Holcomb Perry Jr. Another defendant is Fulton County Ordinary Eugene Gunby.

The board claimed the voting rights act, which bans discrimination by use of a literacy test, applies only to racial discrimination. Also, the argument continued, the present system does not amount to a literacy test.

Since voting officials are required to give each voter an envelope for a write-in ballot, there is no lack of secrecy, the defendants contended.

PLAINTIFFS contended the state's election laws deprive write-in voters and illiterates "of their right to cast a ballot in absolute secrecy."

Plaintiffs maintained that the requirement for writing out the name of a candidate amounts to a literacy test.

Also, attorneys continued, the law which allows a literate person to aid an illiterate deprives the illiterate of his right to cast a secret ballot.

Georgia Atty. Gen. Arthur K. Bolton argued that paste-in ballots often clog automatic voting and counting devices.

Mr. Bolton said none of the five plaintiffs was truly illiterate and that two could spell, therefore he was challenging whether they are qualified to file suit.

Attorneys for plaintiffs asked the court to delay the general election if the question of stick-ins is not resolved by election time.

ATL. JOURNAL OCT. 29, 1966

Vote Stickers Out, Other Aid Okayed

By the Associated Press

Gummed stickers will not be legal in place of handwriting on write-in ballots in Georgia's general election Nov. 8, but more aid will be available to the illiterate voter.

A panel of three federal judges refused Friday to strike down the Georgia law prohibiting stickers, but instead eased restrictions on assisting voters at the polls.

The American Civil Liberties Union, which had challenged the law on behalf of five Georgians, said it was pleased with the results of the hearing.

The panel ruled unconstitutional a 1965 law which limited one person from assisting more than one illiterate voter at the polls.

"We think the former statute, permitting a person to assist as many as 10 illiterates, was reasonable under the circumstances and would serve to keep down partisanism," the judges ruled in a unanimous decision.

THE JUDGES, Griffin B. Bell of the 5th Circuit Court of Appeals and District Judges Lewis R. Morgan and Sidney O. Smith Jr., agreed that the new statue was "unduly restrictive."

They concluded that few if any of the plaintiffs in the case would want to use stickers or stamps since they still would need aid to vote in other races.

"What the illiterate needs," the court said, "is someone to assist him inside the voting booth in casting his ballot in all of the races."

Attorney Harold Hill of the state attorney general's office had argued that gummed stickers would thicken rolls of paper in voting machines and jam them.

WITH THIS guarantee of secrecy and liberalized assistance, the ACLU said the illiterate voter "does not need stickers."

"The rights to a secret ballot and to adequate assistance have been enunciated," the ACLU said. "That was our only concern, and we are pleased."

Supporters of a write-in movement for former Gov. Ellis Arnall, defeated in the Democratic primary runoff, were hoping for a favorable decision in the suit to give impetus to the write-in campaign.

"Write-In Georgia," an Atlanta-based Arnall movement, said it never expected that the court would approve stickers and that it was satisfied with the Friday rulings.

"We agreed with the ACLU," the drive's sponsors announced, "that it was necessary to test portions of the Georgia Constitution relating to voting procedures."

SPOOKY ENOUGH FOR HALLOWE'EN

ATLANTA JOURNAL-CONSTITUTION SUNDAY OCT. 30, '66

Write-In Promoters Seek Democratic Party Revamp

By TOM GREENE
Atlanta Journal-Constitution Staff Writer

MACON, Ga., Oct. 29 — The Write-In Georgia movement, promoting Ellis Arnall for governor, concurrently is seeking to form a group which will remain "true to the highest principles, ideals and aspirations of the Democratic Party."

Delegates attending a Macon area workshop for the write-in movement Saturday passed a resolution declaring that the group is "that part of the Democratic Party of Georgia" committed to those ideals.

The resolution also called for the formation of a statewide committee to "formulate rules and regulations for this newly constituted part of the Democratic Party of Georgia," which will report back to representatives of the write-in movement.

The spokesman for the movement, said later the resolution is being presented to delegates at similar workshops all over the state. The spokesman emphasized that this is not a move to form a splinter or separate party, but said it is an attempt to show there are those within the state Democratic organization who do not agree with the party's nominee, Lester Maddox.

There reportedly were 132 official delegates to the workshop from several counties, and 642 others who paid $1 each to get in.

HOSEA WILLIAMS, a leader in Dr. Martin Luther King's Southern Christian Leadership Conference, told those attending that "we have an opportunity to do a great thing."

Mr. Williams said the movement could "form such a strong force that not only will Lester Maddox have to recognize us, Lyndon Baines Johnson will have to recognize us as the Democratic Party in Georgia."

The SCLC leader also said leaders of the write-in movement have been told they are helping to assure the election to Mr. Maddox and should support Republican nominee Howard (Bo) Callaway as the "lesser of two evils."

But, he said, "there's no such thing as the lesser of two evils" and added:

"My God and my Bible have not taught me to stop fighting for justice in the face of adversity."

And he said, "If I had to serve four years in Georgia, I'd rather serve it under Lester Maddox than under Bo Callaway."

Mr. Williams said, "I want you to understand I'm not campaigning for Lester Maddox" but "Bo Callaway is against everything we stand for."

He cited Mr. Callaway's record of voting against such things as federal aid to education, the minimum wage and Medicare.

THE chairman of the write-in movement said earlier that a political poll shows there are more undecided voters than there are voters committed to either of the two regular candidates.

William K. Barrett of Augusta said that the latest Quayle poll showed about 33 per cent of Georgians polled leaning toward each of the two regular candidates, while some 34 per cent "didn't want either one of them.

"Our job is to galvanize that particular force (undecided voters) . . . and march it to the poll on Nov. 8, and I think we're going to do it," Mr. Barrett said.

Mrs. Bolton Lunceford of Atlanta, chairman of the women's division of the movement, told the delegates that "On Nov. 9 you can say to yourself 'With one vote, answerable to one conscience . . . I did what was right.'"

The primary purpose of the workshop was to instruct delegates how correctly to write-in Mr. Arnall's name on the election ballot so they could teach others.

State Sen. Leroy Johnson of Atlanta announced during the workshop that the Macon Voters' League had just voted 95 to 27 to support the write-in movement for Mr. Arnall.

Charles Morgan of the Atlanta office of the American Civil Liberties Union instructed them to write in the proper space either, "Ellis Arnall for governor," or "for governor, Ellis Arnall."

He said the names must be manually written in since a federal district court in Atlanta Friday ruled that stickers could not be used because Georgia law forbids it.

ATLANTA JOURNAL-CONSTITUTION
SUNDAY OCT, 30. 1966

'TRICK OR TREAT?'

Georgia Politics

by CHARLES POU

Fame Fleets and Tempus Fugits As Snow-Famed Morris Knows

Was trying to think up some way not to write about the write-in scam for Sunday when somebody told something new about Aubrey Morris. It sure reminded, too, how fame fleets and tempus fugits.

Only a few months ago Aubrey was taken off regular 22 and 23 hours a day news reporting for WSB radio and promoted to news director. Mighty deserved promotion, too.

But one day last week a lady called WSB and asked to speak to Aubrey.

"Aubrey who?" asked the switchboard operator.

Which goes to show, and it also brought the thought that winter is coming, maybe a snow or so, and a snow just won't seem a snow without Aubrey reporting on it.

You talk, or anyway they talk, about The Atlanta Journal covering Dixie like the dew — well, no one covers a snow like Mr. Morris.

He'd get hold of 'em early in the morning while you were driving to work and you would get this great excited, adventurous feeling, like you were maybe mushing across Upper Slobbovia, and by the time you hit the 10th Street section darned if you wouldn't look back to see if a pack of wolves was stalking you.

Late afternoon Aubrey would wind up with interviews with kids playing in Piedmont Park. And those kids had better be having a good time and sounding happy. "Kids," he'd say.

Gosh, if this sounds like we are having fun with Aubrey we really don't mean it that way. He's one of the most aggressive, hard-working, unawed radio people in the business, and, bar none, absolutely the best at getting politicians to say something whether they want to or not.

Any how, we found no way not to write about the Ellis Arnall write-in thing, and, except to do what we promised an angry little lady we would do. We'll just pass some new comments on the situation along to you without comment at all from us.

This little lady said she didn't like that "Morons for Maddox" tag somebody had put on the Arnall Write-in movement and would we, out of fairness, next time we used it refer to us and others against the thing as "Cads for Callaway." We won't but any how, here are some new statements:

NOW STEP forward Peyton Hawes of Elberton, a man with a long and distinguished legislative career and the choice of a lot of people—but not enough of them—as candidate for lieutenant governor in 1962. He says in a statement:

"In the lieutenant governor's race in 1962, I had the honor, just like Jimmy Carter, of apparently being in the runnoff until the early morning hours, when I lost out to Lester Maddox and Peter Zack Geer. The voters apparently were not satisfied then with the choice between the two and a group of concerned citizens, the next day, tried to persuade me they should launch a movement for a write-in campaign on my behalf.

"I told them then, and I still maintain, that a political race is very much like a baseball game . . . 'some you win, some you lose, and some are rained out. I played by rules and I lost by the rules, and as far as I was concerned the ball game was over.'

"Everyone knows what a write-in will do in the present race. I feel it is incumbent upon Ellis Arnall to discourage this write-in movement. If he does, it will die of its own momentum."

NEXT, Atlanta Alderman G. Everett Millican, one of the all-time greats in the legislative business, sometimes contentious, but always in there watching every bill. Right about most things. Said he:

"My love for the state of Georgia is such that I just don't under any circumstance want to see it go backward. It is inconceivable to me for anyone to be elected governor of this great state that has never had one single day's experience in governmental affairs, the case with Mr. Maddox.

"I am positive the two top men will be Mr. Callaway and Mr. Maddox. So the runoff selection (by the Georgia General Assembly) will be between them. But, having served under six governors and in six legislatures, I can state positively that, under no circumstances, never would a Georgia legislature select Mr. Arnall . . ."

FINALLY, a letter writer:

"Dear Mr. Pou:

"I am a fuzzy-minded liberal. I brighten at words like 'rationale' and 'simplistic' and I do not draw up white-knuckled at the sight of beatniks or picket lines. I do not feel threatened by a jobless man getting $37 a week and I conceive Martin Luther King to be a good creative force. School guidelines—and most other federal action that is decried as part of a sinister takeover by an all-powerful centralized government—I see as simple and deliberate effort to dislodge deep-seated discrimination against American citizens.

"Therefore, I am against Maddox and hardly thrilled over Bo.

"But I am against the Ellis Arnall write-in.

"The many weakness in the write-in idea will keep it from drawing a really representative number of moderates and liberals. But the danger is that politicians may consider this small number of voters as the full force of liberal and moderate opinion in Georgia. In future races office seekers could be tempted to ignore 'this write-in crowd' and only go after the conservative vote.

"It is thus my hope that the write-in will be so insignificant that politicians in years to come will give respectful attention to the moderate and liberal vote that was hidden in the Callaway victory margin.

"Is this rationale too simplistic?

Yours truly,
Kneejerk."

LISTEN AND PONDER ATL. JOURNAL OCT. 31, 1966

When Lester Maddox Spoke More Freely

By REESE CLEGHORN

LESTER MADDOX has had very little to say about his racial views during the governor's race. When questioned about them, he even threatened to walk out on one audience.

But he says emphatically he has never changed his position on racial matters and never will. So what he said in a long talk which I recorded with him in 1963, a year when he was talking more freely, may be worth noting now.

He said then he believed segregation was ordained by God, that Negroes' proper home is in Africa, that Negroes are inherently inferior, and that through the civil rights movement the United States has reached a point at which a complete Communist takeover is imminent.

That is a kind of logic that has the most dangerous implications, of course. It goes beyond mere ignorance, and it potentially justifies conduct that otherwise would be unthinkable.

Listen and ponder.

". . . God set up the boundaries of the habitations of people, by continent, and I think that our trouble today has been brought about by integration," he said.

". . . In Africa, the black people are suited for that area, and having been brought into the United States, into our country, a country that's more suitable to the white civilization, I think that we have hurt their opportunities."

* * *

THE CLIMATE MADE a difference? he was asked. "I think that in God's setting up the people the way he did—the people of Asia, the people of northern Europe, the people of Africa—and established the bounds of their habitation, I think that we have gone against God's will in moving the people from these areas and to force them into other races."

What about equality of opportunity?

"Well," he said, "I'm sure that history speaks for itself. We've never had an integrated society anywhere that was as successful as a segregated society, in any country any time during history."

Negroes are inherently inferior intellectually, he said.

"Africa has proved their capacity. The white man hasn't interfered with them there. And they have more resources, they had all the opportunities, and the only areas where they've ever developed is where the white man has moved in and guided, given the leadership.

* * *

"THE SAME IS TRUE in Brazil. Look at Brazil. It's much larger, it has more material wealth—terrific—and it hasn't really gone anywhere at all except in those areas where the United States has stepped in to provide financial aid." This was because of integration? "Yes."

He said he thought Communists were a great influence on the rights movement and would take over the country before two more presidential elections unless the people awakened. But it was not the Communists who appeared to be the principal villains in his mind.

"I think the major cause behind the move to integrate is not to help the Negro," he said. "It is to help the big financial people.

"Maybe the Carnegies and the Mellons and the Fords and the various big-money people—they want to please the African countries in order to get into the market where there would be almost a virgin market for heavy industry, for appliances for homes, for furnishings, for clothing, and in order to do that they're trying to indicate to Africa and other parts of the world that the United States has come to be a leader for doing something for the Negro. . . ."

* * *

WHITE PEOPLE MUST fight all this, he said. "We are careful enough to protect our pets, our birds, our dogs, our livestock, our cattle—the purity of them—but we are foolish enough to not take the same precautions to protect our own people.

"I think it's ungodly, I think it's sinful, and I think it's inhuman, and I think it's cruel that we would subject our people to integration and racial amalgamation. . . . It would be immoral to bring one group of people up to integrate them into a society that would bring another group of people down, and bring down a country."

Would integration bring down a country? "Well," he said, "it has everywhere in history, hasn't it? It has in Italy, it has in Brazil. . . . Yes, sir."

Communists want integration in the United States for that reason, he said.

* * *

"WE SEE A LOT OF American business people placing special emphasis on what they are doing for the Negro. . . . I think we are going to wind up in this country with some business firms manufacturing and selling to whites and some to Negroes. And it's going to be more segregated in a few years than we have ever had before."

What about the Ku Klux Klan? he was asked, since it has enthusiastically supported him in the past and he has not disavowed it.

"Well," he said, "I'm not familiar too much with the Klan and I don't know what their organization is today and what they are in size and number."

Did he have any doubts about what it is?

"Well, it's supposed to be a segregationist movement and back in the earlier part of this century most of our governors and public officials and mayors and doctors and bankers and business people were all members of the Klan."

ATLANTA JOURNAL, Nov. 1, 1966

The Atlanta Journal

"Covers Dixie Like the Dew"

Since 1883

Jack Tarver, President • Jack Spalding, Editor

Callaway Is the Logical Choice

ON NOVEMBER 8 Georgians once more will indicate a choice for the governorship.

The Democratic party offers Lester Maddox.

The Republican party offers Bo Callaway.

There also is a write-in movement for those unhappy with the offerings of the two political parties, and who feel no obligation to abide by the rules which produced these candidates.

This vote next Tuesday will help set the tone of state government and help determine the way the state will move during the next four years.

We have been very fortunate the last eight years, during the terms of Ernest Vandiver and Carl Sanders. These two men gave us sound government and used restraint and moderation in their approach to the vexing problems of the day.

The result was a period of stability and relative peace. Under these conditions the state was able to make great progress in adding to its economic strength and increasing the quality of education.

These two governors were able to command the services of some of the most able people in Georgia to help with state problems.

In addition, both were experienced and astute enough to keep an eye on all departments, and this was a great encouragement to the cause of honesty in government.

During the last eight years we have seen great advances in the University System and in the common schools. We have seen such things as the reports of the Bowdoin Commission, a blueprint for Georgia progress.

We have seen the beginnings of reform in nearly all branches of the government including the highway department, the penal system and the State Hospital at Milledgeville.

Do you want to continue progress? To build up our schools? Continue to encourage prosperity through honest, intelligent government?

We believe most Georgians do.

To continue this progress it becomes necessary to choose the candidate most likely to follow in the paths of his predecessors.

We believe that Mr. Callaway, bull-headed and overly conservative though he may be, is the better equipped by nature and training to keep Georgia on this even and prospering course.

His background, his work in Congress, his obvious desire to serve, the resources which are his to call upon, indicate a sound future under his administration.

If he is elected, he will be sworn in owing less to fewer people than any governor in recent history.

He will be his own man.

The Journal has been interested in the development of a two-party system in Georgia for a number of years. It is good to increase the number of candidates and to break the hammer lock the old oligarchs have had on state patronage and the state treasury for so long.

The candidacy of Mr. Callaway is one of the beneficial results of this system.

We endorse him therefore, not only as the better prospect of the two candidates, but as the representative of a new system which should do a lot to improve the caliber of local and state politics.

ATL. JOURNAL NOV. 1, 1966 PAGE 1.

Maddox Predicts 50,000 Write-Ins

By WILLIAM O. SMITH
Atlanta Journal Staff Writer

STATESBORO, Ga., Nov. 1—Lester Maddox said here Tuesday that the write-in campaign for Ellis Arnall "won't work" and he predicted it will net no more than 40 to 50 thousand votes.

He called leaders of the write-in effort "soreheads," and then he said, "They couldn't get in the front door and now they are trying to slip in the back door like a thief in the night, but it won't work."

MR. MADDOX appeared to be evidencing more and more concern over the Arnall write-in effort. He commented on this at some length Monday during an appearance before members of the Atlanta Press Club.

There, he revealed that he had been in touch with Arnall people in an effort to "get this thing eliminated." And he said he felt he would benefit more than his Republican opponent, Howard (Bo) Callaway, if the write-in movement were stopped.

Mr. Maddox, in a swing through South Georgia, where he reportedly is strongest among voters, spoke at a breakfast meeting here Tuesday morning. Later he was to visit Savannah and Brunswick.

HE TOLD the breakfast meeting that his opponent is "calling on the whole power structure of the national Republican Party to help him get elected."

He said the Republicans are "spending $500,000 a week" on Mr. Callaway's campaign but that "the people will say the office is not for sale on Nov. 8."

Addressing a wildly enthusiastic crowd at Dublin Monday night, Mr. Maddox said his opponent is "reaching for the governor's office like a child reaching for a toy" and really has his sights set on the Senate or the vice presidency.

MR. CALLAWAY doesn't know whether he's "a Democrat or a Republican . . . or a segregationist or integrationist . . . or whether he wants to run for Congress, the Senate or governor," Mr. Maddox charged.

"If he doesn't know where he stands, how does he expect the people to find out?" he asked.

Newsmen covering Mr. Maddox generally agreed that the crowd overflowing the Agriculture Building in Dublin was the noisiest and most enthusiastic of the campaign.

Estimates of the crowd—which came from a 10-county area—exceeded 2,000, and most observers agreed it was a larger turnout than Mr. Callaway's crowd in the same building on Saturday night.

Although the crowd had evangelical fervor for Mr. Maddox, they weren't too pleased with the press, and constantly heckled newsmen as speaker after speaker denounced newsmen.

"You can't believe the newspapers," one man cried out loudly to raucous laughter. Another cried, "Write that down" when Mr. Maddox made a crowd-pleasing point.

THE CROWD applauded almost every statement Mr. Maddox made and persons constantly yelled out to him, "Tell 'em, Lester!" and "Go, Lester!"

Mr. Maddox said his opponent has been trying to find "Maddox Country" but that he'll be able to see it on Nov. 8.

Apparently getting more confident, Mr. Maddox said he expects 1,000,000 votes on Nov. 8 if the weather is good. He predicted he will get from 600,000 to 675,000 of them.

Mr. Maddox charged his opponent is "running against the people" and labeled Mr. Callaway the "geatest drop-out of all time."

HE SAID Mr. Callaway "dropped out" of the Board of Regents, broke his promises and pledges and laughed at the people, and has been in, out, in the governor's race.

"He's dropped out of Congress now," he said.

Mr. Maddox said Mr. Callaway's "greatest drop-out will be Nov. 8" and said that after he is inaugurated in January, "he (Mr. Callaway) can drop in and visit me in the governor's office."

BEFORE HE SPOKE to the Dublin group, Mr. Maddox was presented with a check for $500 to help pay his campaign expenses. He quipped that he needed money and campaigned "four months before he got $1,000 in contributions," but then he asked permission to endorse the check to the Gracewood school for the mentally retarded.

In his speech, he promised to increase the state's mental health budget at least 50 per cent during his administration and launch a program to provide a mental health treatment center in every congressional district.

ATL. JOURNAL Nov. 2, 1966

'AFTER ALL, HE WAS KNOWN FOR HIS AX HANDLES, TOO!

Callaway Conceals Racism, NAACP's Williams Charges

By SHARON BROWN

A Negro leader here has charged that Howard (Bo) Callaway is practicing "concealed racism," and said he thinks he'd rather have a person who is "open about it."

Rev. Samuel Williams, head of the NAACP here, said:

"I asked Mr. Callaway the other day if he is going to desegregate Georgia and he didn't even have the courage to say it in the enclosure of his office."

The Rev. Mr. Williams was one of four men who engaged in a spirited panel discussion at the YWCA here Tuesday on the race for governor between Republican congressman Callaway and Atlanta segregationist, Lester Maddox.

Jarvin Levinson, representing Mr. Callaway, charged that Mr. Williams was equating Mr. Callaway's voted in Congress with racism and segregation, and "they're not in the same class at all."

(Mr. Callaway, in his first term as congressman, has voted against civil rights legislation, raising the minimum wage, federal aid to education and federal aid to cities.)

"Do his votes in Congress make him a racist?" Mr. Levinson, an Atlanta attorney, asked. "I think he can vote that way without being a disguised racist."

ALSO ON the segregation issue, Will Wallace declared that his candidate, Mr. Maddox, has promised more to Negroes in Georgia than any other candidate.

Mr. Maddox, he said, has told Negroes they are welcome to "come in his office and discuss things," and that he will appoint them to responsible positions in state government.

"I will challenge Bo Callaway to make those statements," Mr. Wallace said. "Lester Maddox has made more statements like that than any other candidate."

THE FOURTH MAN on the panel, labor attorney Joe Jacobs, made a strong pitch in behalf of the write-in movement for former governor Ellis Arnall.

Mr. Jacobs declared there are "not two candidates in this race, but three." He urged his listeners, members of Active Voters and the Public Affairs committee of the YWCA, to "vote their consciences and convictions."

"What is our choice today?" he said. "We're asked to vote for the lesser of two evils.

"One man says 'I'm going to use ax handles and a gun, and the other runs back to Washington and votes against the minimum wage bill, federal aid and money-spending federal programs."

The Rev. Mr. Williams said he and "four or five" other Negro leaders had approached Mr. Callaway last week on the integration issue.

He said he "wasn't impressed" with Mr. Callaway before the visit, and was even less impressed with him when he left his office.

"If someone is going to be a segregationist, I think I'd rather have a person who is open about it," the Rev. Mr. Williams said. "I think you should have a certain amount of honesty, even in your dishonesty."

The Rev. Mr. Williams declared also the time has come for Georgia voters to put their moral convictions before either party loyalty or the platform of the candidates.

IN REBUTTAL, Mr. Levinson said when Lyndon Johnson was running for vice president in 1960, with his segregationist background, no one considered the "moral commitment" then.

He said further, if the nominee on the Democratic ticket today were anyone else but Mr. Maddox, no one would be interested in a write-in movement.

"This is basically because anybody who has taken to the streets and defied the law as Lester Maddox has done does not deserve to be the nominee of the Democratic party, or any other party," he said.

Mr. Levinson said, although he is a personal friend of Mr. Arnall, he wonders if Mr. Arnall is fulfilling his "moral commitment" in allowing the write-in movement on his part to continue.

On behalf of the write-in, Mr. Jacobs predicted it may not be the Georgia Legislature that elects the governor in the event that one candidate does not get a majority.

He said, under the new election laws, there could be a runoff election Nov. 22, or "the people may elect the governor under a court order."

Mr. Wallace, who was an aide in George T. Smith's successful campaign for lieutenant governor, said Mr. Maddox won the nomination spending "less than $35,000," and no professional politicians working for him."

"When a man like that beats a more well-financed and more articulate man, you have to look at what this means," he said.

Mr. Wallace said the state of Georgia has never had a governor who was not a segregationist, including Gov. Sanders.

ATL. JOURNAL NOV. 3, 1966

Bo Callaway Is the Only Choice

Macon News

THE RESULT OF the Democratic primary runoff of Sept. 28, in which Lester Maddox defeated Ellis Arnall, left Georgia with two rigid conservatives contesting for the governorship. And put us on the spot.

We've been squirming ever since, hoping Mr. Maddox would show some sign of responsibility or Mr. Callaway would give some evidence of flexibility. . . .

* * *

WHEN MR. MADDOX won the nomination of the Democrats, we were left with a choice of: (a) going fishing; (b) encouraging a write - in campaign for Arnall; (c) recommending Maddox; (d) supporting Howard H. "Bo" Callaway, the Republican candidate.

Why go fishing? It is up to the voters to elect the next governor and, despite disagreement with some views of either the Democratic nominee or the Republican nominee, there is a difference between them, and thus a choice to be made.

To go fishing would in itself be irresponsible in that the serious business of selecting the next governor would be turned over to others.

The write-in campaign for Arnall or anyone else is a futile gesture. . . .

* * *

OVER THE YEARS we have supported the Democratic party because we thought it the party with the best program and the best candidates for all of the people.

That is not so when it comes to the Democratic gubernatorial nominee in 1966. Lester Maddox is an irresponsible publicity hound who is not equipped emotionally or intellectually to be governor.

He has successfully gained the sympathy of many as a small businessman who stood up alone against a ruthless Uncle Sam, with nobody "except God and the people" with him.

The truth is that Maddox received a good price for his restaurant, and parlayed the chasing of Negroes while waving a pistol, with Georgia opposition to desegregation, into the Democratic nomination.

Maddox is no longer alone. He has been joined by Roy Harris, Marvin Griffin, James Gray and other county unit system die-hards, as well as an army of state job-holders who want to hang on to their offices.

He has encouraged those who play footsie with the Klan or the Birchers to enter his ranks. These people may very well make a shambles of state government without Maddox even being aware of it.

* * *

THERE IS ONLY one choice for us, or for any conscientious Georgian who has thoughtfully analyzed the election situation. And that choice is "Bo" Callaway.

Mr. Callaway has experience in government as a congressman and as a member of the University System Board of Regents.

He may not have always voted the way we would have liked, but he is a responsible individual.

One can no more imagine Callaway handing out ax-handles or chasing a Negro with a pistol than one can imagine the quick-triggered Maddox working with the federal government to solve Georgia's problems, or impressing industriailsts that our state is a progressive place in which to locate new industry.

"Bo" Callaway would preserve the dignity of Georgia and uphold the sanctity of the law. We cannot say the same for Lester Maddox

* * *

THE GOP candidate has not stooped to demagogism in an effort to out-shout Maddox. He has not made reckless promises, such as the Democratic nominee has handed out liberally.

He has made charges only when he could back them up, in contrast to the scatter-gun unsubstantiated accusations voiced by Maddox.

He has attempted to debate the issues calmly and logically, but has been thwarted by the inability of Maddox to sit still and answer a question or document a statement.

There is only one choice in this contest. The News earnestly recommends the election of "Bo" Callaway as governor of Georgia.

ATL. JOURNAL NOV. 3, 1966

LETTERS TO THE EDITORS:

Write-Ins Endanger Future of Georgia

The Editors: If the times were not so demanding and the decision not so vital insofar as the continued development of the state is concerned, there would be a lot of comedy in the actions of the confused "liberals."

In past elections we have seen them pervert the meanings of both conservatism and liberalism. This year, in two primaries, they have had a chance to expound their beliefs, and their candidate(s) for governor lost.

Now they are willing to jeopardize the political life of Georgia because they are no longer in the election game. They show their political naivete by climbing into the political bed with the very element they profess to abhor. This is the meaning of their misguided effort to promote a "write-in" campaign.

Only by voting for one of the regular candidates can one cast a significant ballot in this election.

The meaningful decision one has to make is whether to vote for the candidate who will approach each problem with an intelligent attitude or for the candidate who will do so in a demagogic spirit.

JOHN J. PERSHING.
Carrollton.

BOTTOMED OUT? ATL. JOURNAL - CONSTITUTION SUNDAY, NOV. 4, 1966

Lost at Sea and the Beacons Are Dark

By JACK SPALDING

THIS IS the year the markers came down and the guideposts went. Democrats are voting Republican and Republicans are voting Democratic. There is another group, just writing in.

There is another group, most interesting of all, which finds the current condition of the state Democratic party not without virtue. This group preaches that four years of government under the new leadership is just what Georgia needs.

* * *

FROM IT we will emerge purged clean of hate and frustrations.

This is all right if you are a flagellante by nature, or can stand four years of purging. It also is all right if you're unencumbered and can leave for four years, returning when the purge is over.

But most would like to keep living normal lives or are sentimentally attached to the place or can't afford to leave.

So it's vote for this one or that one, or throw yourself down a well, depending on your nature and hope that somebody way out there cares enough to watch out for us. Remember, the average politician is a lot more interested in his own advancement than in yours or mine.

It is an interesting year, regardless of the fact that the evil in men's souls is more apparent than usual.

* * *

THIS CERTAINLY is the year that should see the end of the old Democratic party (as we know it). Granted some major victories at the polls and the arrival of common sense at headquarters this also may be the year the Republican party comes to life as a positive force in Georgia politics.

As for the Democrats, we don't have a real party of that name here. This party has been whoever was governor at the time, plus his friends. It has been feudalistic, oligarchial, and its connection with the national party of the same name often has been hard to figure. Its death is overdue.

The Democratic primary this year saw leadership of that group pass into the hands of Lester Maddox and friends. Whether the new Maddox party will be present at the Democratic national convention in 1968 is a matter for speculation.

Jack Spalding is editor of The Atlanta Journal.

The future of the Republican party is a matter for speculation also. On the national level the most obvious Republican political drive is the instinct for suicide. We have seen indications of that on the local level as well.

* * *

RIGHT NOW THE experts tell us the election can go either way. Certainly each party has within itself the power to defeat itself through clumsiness, or by failing to grasp some clearly offered political advantage.

It is a year of bewilderment for those accustomed to the old patterns and cliches.

A national Democrat, for instance, isn't going to find the current leadership of the local group of the same name very congenial.

A national Republican might find enough of the national cliches in use here to feel at home. But his group doesn't have a chance unless a lot of pragmatic Democrats cross over.

* * *

NO MATTER who ends up with the governorship, no good party man will get solid satisfaction from it.

The party lines are blurred, the old Democratic party is in pieces and the Republican party is yet to be put together.

Next week may be catharsis week in Georgia. From the final confusion may come two organized political parties like other places have.

NOV. 4, 1966 PAGE ONE ATL. JOURNAL

PINEY WOODS PETE Says:

DEAR MISTER EDITOR:

Congressman Charles Weltner, who gave up the Democratic nomination to succeed himself because he couldn't support Lester in the general election, tried to tell a meeting of Fulton County Young Democrats that a write-in for Arnall Nov. 8 would be futile. "We've already lost the governorship," he asserted. And that was that.

But he made another statement that is open to question. He was quoted as saying that "we can win in 1970 for governor."

If Lester wins by a sizable majority next Tuesday, and the succession law remains, what assurance would we have that he would not run Mrs. Maddox when he goes out? He admires the ways of the Wallaces of Alabama.

Yours truly,
PINEY WOODS PETE.

ATL. JOURNAL - CONSTITUTION SUNDAY NOV. 6, 1966

Write-Ins

Macon News

IT TAKES more time than is available to organize . . . a write-in drive. It requires more energy than advocates can apparently muster. And it is necessary to have a strong force behind it. So far, no moderates who can bring such a project alive have endorsed it, and no major daily newspaper in Georgia has proclaimed it a good idea.

Might as well give up, fellows. If you want to see Mr. Maddox elected governor, going fishing on election day or encouraging a write-in campaign makes sense. Otherwise, forget it.

Georgia Politics

by CHARLES POU

Little Writing-In Foreseen Among Rural Negro Voters

The Ellis Arnall write-in movement likely will get a fairly heavy vote from Negroes in Atlanta. That is, from those who successfully make the effort to write in the name of the former governor and have their votes counted. Actually, it is the opinion here, the effect will be the same—count' em or don't count 'em, Lester Maddox benefits.

In rural areas of the state, however, it is believed the formal write-in vote by Negroes will be minute. A South Georgia citizen, once actively interested in politics and still an interested observer, tells why.

"Down here," he said, "the Negroes are having no part of the write-in campaign because they are frightened by the possible outcome of this election. In Atlanta, Negroes have police protection. South Georgia Negroes are fearful that the election of Mr. Maddox may be interpreted as a license for the lower elements to take over."

The Democratic nominee has asserted repeatedly there will be law and order during his administration if he wins, and that he will run his own show. He says there will be justice for all.

Nevertheless there is fear, out where things can get sticky in a hurry and the unraveling of who done it may take years, if ever, once federal investigators move in.

It is certainly the hope here such fear is unjustified, if Mr. Maddox is the winner. But it is there, out in the boondocks, where petulance, vindictiveness, bitterness, attitude of a curse-upon-both-your-houses, thoughts of sweet revenge, and just plain stupidity cannot always be indulged in cozy surroundings.

Fear of the midnight rap on the door. . . . Nightriders. . . . The mean whine of a bullet.

NOW COMMENT of a legislator from a small county: "My county is going for Maddox, and if this thing goes to the legislature, don't let anybody kid anybody about it—I am going to have to vote for Maddox. And it will be the county unit system all over again—and he'll win."

Those are no-name comments, because both men live in small counties. There are plenty who have spoken for the record, and some of the things they have said will be summarized once more. The writer also would like to make it plain again that his own objection is not to the idea of write-in—but to the formal, born-to-lose (it is believed here) effort in behalf of loser Ellis Arnall.

REP. CHARLES WELTNER, a young man of style and class who has already expressed his objection to Mr. Maddox in dramatic fashion, spoke on the write-in subject this week. He told a packed audience of "Write-in Georgia" backers he considers the effort a lost cause. Mr. Weltner said he intends to write in a candidate for governor, maybe "my father," but added he was against devoting time and money to the organized movement.

To some present who wore "Arnall Write-In" buttons, who later wondered if they had heard him right, he was more specific.

"We've lost the governor's race," he told three ladies. "I don't believe in lost causes. . . ."

One in the group continued to argue, and he said with a grin, "I'll tell you, the Ku Klux Klan gives me less trouble than you-all."

JESSE HILL, a veteran worker in the Atlanta Negro movement here, eminently successful at increasing Negro registration, has said:

"I don't see how anybody could join in something to drain off Negro votes. . . . Many of those calling the shots in the Write-in Movement are middle class Negroes with high incomes. They are safe. We have a good police department, a good police chief. But in the little hamlets the election of Maddox by some could be taken in a peculiar way. . . ."

Mr. Hill has argued violently with some of the other leaders in the Negro community about the issue. He has since declared his support for Callaway, calling it "facing up to a nasty political problem."

A news story by Hank Johnson, reporter for The Red and Black, asserts in the current issue of the student newspaper at the University of Georgia:

"Dr. Brett Hawkins of the political science department warned voters that a write-in campaign would elect Lester Maddox governor and, in the process, smother the fledgling state Republican party. . . .

". . .Hawkins said that the candidates differ in education, their views on supporting federal laws and experience in governmental affairs. . . .

Peyton Hawes of Elbotton, a close loser in the 1962 race for lieutenant governor and urged by some to become a "write-in" candidate: "I told them a political race is very much like a baseball game . . . 'Some you win, some you lose, and some are rained out. I played by the rules and I lost by the rules.'"

A "fuzzy-minded" liberal, "against Maddox and hardly thrilled over Bo," but opposed to the Ellis Arnall write-in campaign: "The many weakness in the write-in idea will keep it from drawing a really representative number of moderates and liberals. But the danger is that politicians may consider this small number of voters as the full force of liberal and moderate opinion in Georgia. . . ."

AN ATLANTA RABBI two weeks ago endorsed the write-in movement. Now he is urging members of his congregation to leave it alone.

Still, the idea for the write-in campaign has its appeal, and the guess here is a fairly high vote will be produced by it — possibly enough to put the election of Georgia's next governor up to the Georgia legislature.

Mr. Maddox remains strong in the small counties, although a final prediction will be that Mr. Callaway will win in a close contest.

The backlash and Ellis Arnall backbite factors continue, but there are those who think they see slight gains for Callaway, even in the rural counties, as citizens come up to the reckoning day.

"There's still a lot to be made about," said one small county voter about the situation. "It will be a fine thing if we could elect Lester for something like six weeks--to show LBJ, to show the rioters, to show the newspapers. . . ."